



**progressive
labor party**

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INTERNAL BULLETIN

April 5, 1977

Dear Comrades,

Much of this Internal Bulletin is devoted to the Party's continuing efforts against the right-wing trend. Pages 2-49 contain articles assigned by the National Committee. Pages 50-66 contain additional articles on this ideological struggle. Pages 67-68 are reproductions of information on the Camp Pendleton committee. Pages 69-97 contain letters received by the National Steering Committee on the internal struggle in California. The last two articles were additional ones received in general for the internal bulletin. More material on hand will be printed in the next bulletin. Meanwhile, the ideas put forward in this bulletin should be used to root out the right-wing trend in our own practice, so that we not only "talk Left" but ACT Left also.

-The National Steering Committee

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This summary of UF strategy was developed at our last two NC meetings. Following is a brief statement of the operating strategy of the UF, much of which was in the previous report and in other reports.

(1) Since the main operating strategy of the Party is to build a base for revolution amongst the industrial working class, our UF strategy and tactics must take this key principle into full account. The basis for developing the UF must flow from the shops. The first and primary form of UF work is FRACTION-building. The Party fraction comprises Party and non-Party forces. Obviously, the non-Party forces in a Party fraction constitute those workers closest to the Party and most likely to join. However, the fraction combines the unity of opposites; workers in the fraction may not be fully convinced of Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, etc. Thus, vigorous struggle against ruling class ideas must go on inside the fraction to win the more advanced workers to the Party.

Obviously, the fraction will struggle together to achieve political and economic victories. The issues which may evolve can vary from South Africa, 30 for 40, racism, nationalism, grievances, rebellions, May Day, etc. However, economic demands must be quickly elevated into political demands; i.e., the example of the worker in the Colgate plant fired for stealing. The Party's response was, "Who is stealing from whom?" In other words, take the grievance and expose the system.

(2) One of the tasks of the Party fraction is to build industrial CAR groups/chapters. CAR is built around the issue of racism. But we must guarantee its CLASS line. While racism is most injurious to its immediate victims, racism hurts ALL workers. (This class concept of racism was absent from the integration movements of the 1960's, and even prior to that. And the nationalist movements of the latter sixties obviously ignored this question. The omission of a class outlook on racism was a conscious decision of the "C" P, who reduced the fight against racism to a matter of missionaryism.)

Other concepts that CAR should tackle include: on-the-job racism; imperialism--especially relative to Africa at this point; death to the KKK--the fascists; exposing the two-pronged strategy of nationalism and overt racism with which the ruling class is trying to saddle the working class (read the current Party statement in C-D and the other piece in this internal bulletin dealing with this question); the need for multi-racial unity to win; and the importance of an on-going multi-issue organization like CAR to guarantee organizational strength of an emerging mass, anti-racist movement.

CAR will also combine Party and non-Party forces. The Party must not be hidden in CAR. Vigorous, constructive struggle must go on in CAR to win workers to the Party fraction, the Party and into party leadership. Within CAR and all mass organizations the crucial need for the Party must be fought for, so that anti-communism is defeated and that the workers recognize the need for the Party as the only way to victory. Thus, winning or losing can basically be determined by: are the workers being won to the Left, to the leadership of the Left around a Left line? Is the Party growing? A good situation is for the Party fraction and CAR to be working in tandem. A good Party fraction should lead to a solid CAR chapter, and a thriving CAR chapter should result in a larger Party fraction, and in Party growth.

(3) In the last NC report we spelled out the correct application of how to reconcile the development of the UF to the line of Revolution-not-Reform (R/R). This means that the minimum UF line we fight for is the line of CAR. The CAR line includes advanced economic concepts like 30 for 40 to advanced ideas mentioned previously. Within the UF, the Party line must be raised and fought for. And the Party must be clearly put forward as a leading, if not the leading, component of the UF. The Left leads not only in an organizational way, but in a political way by organizing the UF around--at least--the line of CAR, not on the lowest common denominator. Thus, a UF that we build must be based on Party fractions, CAR chapters and around a Left line.

(4) With whom do we unite other than CAR and Party fractions? In approaching other shop groups--in this case, various types of rank-and-file caucuses--we should approach them on the basis of the Left line. A good deal of our success in winning other rank-and-file workers and on-the-job groups (the concept of UF from below must be adhered to) will be determined by how strong we are. There is a great deal of weakness in the entire Party in vigorously organizing around the Left line. Obviously, one way others will be won over is if they see the Left as a dynamic, growing force. But, whatever our weaknesses, we should stick to our guns and not retreat from our line.

The best way to win local on-the-job leaders closer to the Left and into a UF with a Left line is win their base. Approaching the leaders without making serious inroads within their base inevitably results in watering down our line in order to make the grouping seem more palatable to these leaders. Attempts to restrict our approach to those leaders who have a little more stake in society, as now constituted, will force us from retreat to retreat. The primary approach to our UF work must be to the rank-and-file forces within the working class. Diversions from this lead us to concentrations on petty-bourgeois groups or forces who lead us away from the working class. Thus, rank-and-filers in and outside the shop should be approached around a Left line, but the bed-rock of our formations should be based on the working class.

(5) With whom do we ^{not} unite? Ever since our inception we have steadfastly opposed uniting with our en-

emies on the "left" and with elements of the liberal ruling class. This concept is nothing new. And we have taken the position that we don't take aid from the enemy. However, it seems in times of crisis—real or imaginary—some people run to the "tent of the Imperialists." For example, in the last NC report we spelled out how the Camp Pendleton Defense Committee was being incorrectly organized. One key manifestation of this was in the literature put out by the "Committee." (We put "Committee" in quotes because every aspect of the committee except its line was determined by Party forces. Party members organized it, were in charge of security, financed it and generally ran it. Even on its own terms, the "Committee" was not broad. The list of names was mainly just that—a list. It was broad "in name only.") One of the four specific requests made of supporters of the 14 marines is to ask the black Congressional Caucus for support. (See enclosed brochure) Inasmuch as other liberals, like Bella Abzug, aren't approached, it can only be concluded that there is something positive about the Caucus. Inasmuch as other workers and their organizations aren't called upon to act, the omission can only be described as lack of confidence in the working class and confidence in the Caucus. The black Caucus is an agent of the ruling class. Why call on them to help? Perhaps illusions in nationalism run deep and persist.

Well, Party members working in the "committee" could say, "We opposed this demand but we lost in the UF and went along with the decision. However, we issued literature exposing the class nature of the Caucus." But no such fight in or out of the "committee" ever took place. Consequently, we know that Party members and our base and friends have illusions in the liberals and in nationalism.

The only attack on the liberal agents of the ruling class took place in C-D. This criticism upheld the line of the Party and took note of the lack of class demands in the brochure. Once again, if the comrades working within the "committee" said, "We raised class demands but they were rejected, so we decided to retreat," or whatever, this at least would constitute "struggling with—struggling against." However, the leadership of the Party in SF and some members do not agree with the Party line. (In this particular situation, the approach of some Party forces was a step backward from what the black marines themselves did. They fought the Klan. But Party forces lowered the marines' struggle to "free the 14" and vague, classless generalities about "ending racism," made vague by the complete absence of a class line.)

(6) Struggle with—struggle against must mean just that. We unite with non-Party forces around a Left line. When we run into contradictions, as we inevitably must, we should not be remiss in struggling against these ruling class ideas. This struggle must not only rely on one-on-one discussions. It must be open, friendly where possible, so that everyone involved can be won to advanced ideas. We are not only interested in winning the one's and two's; we are interested in training and winning the workers en masse to advanced ideas and into the Party. When necessary, the Party should be self-critical, publicly, if Party members, or leaders or the Party as a group has incorrectly put forward opportunist ideas. We have a responsibility which goes way beyond our members, base, friends and family. We are responsible to the working class for our line. And when it is wrong, it is a sign of strength to say we are wrong.

(7) When coalitions spring up which include our enemies on the "left" and the liberal types mentioned, we should not lend our names to these formations. We should never dignify the enemy with the mantle of the working class. We must keep a clear distance between ourselves and these forces. However, based on various estimates, we might assign forces to work within these coalitions to fight for our line and win honest people away from, weaken, and crush these enemy formations. Our strategy might include building a UF of the character previously described. We may already have such a formation to which we could win workers and others. But the main concept—as in all our other mass work—if there are significant forces to be won, we do not want to abandon them to the enemy; thus, we stay and fight but do not join these groups, organizationally or politically.

In conclusion, our UF strategy must flow from the shops. It is a UF from below. The Left line and leadership should prevail. We must conduct struggle against erroneous ideas within and outside the Party.

A BRIEF REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

A new leadership has been established in the Party in S.F. It is more solidly based in the working class, is in support of—and has demonstrated that it is ready to fight for—the Party line. Some of the leadership was changed to insure that leadership at the club level would reflect, and fight for, the line of the Party. Some who opposed and organized against the line of the Party remain in club leadership based on our estimate and their pledge that they will carry out the Party line, and can eventually be won to the Party line.

Two things become apparent, based on closer examination of the cadre in SF. A significant part of the membership, if not the majority, was open to the line of the Party and supported it. For the most part, these members were the younger and the newer members. Those members and leaders who opposed and organized against the Party's line were mainly some of the more veteran members of the Party. This is not a new phenomenon. First of all, with some overlap, the older members of the party are college-trained with little industrial work experience. Usually they are a little better off (sometimes much better off) financially. Additionally (and happily not absolutely), many of these cadre who previously provided solid leadership to the Party tend to get tired. Some drop out of the Party gracefully as they see that making a revolution is a lengthy lifetime process. No get-rich-quick process here. Between the ages of the early-to-late thirties,

they develop political "middle-age flab." In cases such as SF, these members who are more intellectual in the petty-bourgeois sense develop complicated political rationales why the line can't be carried out. This phenomenon, as well as individualism, and the question of personal ties being primary over political loyalty to the Party, will be dealt with at a later date. (In SF the leading forces against the Party's line know each other for a long time, and in many cases are very close personally, which in and of itself isn't bad if it's supportive to fighting for the Party.)

The next two things which struck home was that once all the cutesy rhetoric was cleared away, it became obvious that those who opposed and organized against the Party didn't just have differences over UF tactics. These comrades and others in the Party, if not in word but by the lack of vigor in carrying out the line, really disagree with the basic line we are trying to carry out. Virtually all the concepts of Road to Revolution III (RR III) are in question, most obviously: no unity with the enemy; nationalism is reactionary; the Party must consistently wage a mass campaign for revolutionary ideas amongst the masses, now and later.

Obviously there are sharp differences over the current dangers of war and fascism--Jim Dann and Harl Dillon are not the only ones. Finally there is a tremendous difference over the application and concepts to be found in Revolution-not-Reform (R/R) which is the operating strategy of RR III. R/R, in the first place, must act at revolutionizing the Party practice. Unfortunately, at the all-Party meeting in SF on 3/23, the political differences were not really joined. In their place debaters' points were made to please friends and families who were brought as a cheering section by those who opposed the Party. For example: the concept of keeping a clear difference between ourselves and the enemy was ridiculed as meaning, "You can't fight the ruling class if you are not close to them," and "It takes two boxers in the ring to make a fight. If you are not in the ring, you can't fight," etc. This finally led to the notion that the Party views the ruling class as omnipotent and that not only don't we want to fight them, but in fact "we are sabotaging efforts to fight them, we are racist, and we don't fight them."

Other letters in this Bulletin from SF in opposition to the line will give one a better view of the political level of the Right opposition. Nonetheless, in complimenting one another for making a charade of the Party and its line, holding the Party up to ridicule, distortions, etc., in front of many non-Party people organized to come and cheer, different members of the Right opposition described the meeting as "the most political meeting" they had ever attended. One of the past NC members described it as "more political than any NC meeting."

The other thing that hit home squarely was that the Party members, in large numbers, didn't back down. They stood up for the Party, and are going about their business to organize the Party around the Party line. The opposition line was so flimsy that when some members heard the Party line from the January NC meeting for the first time (NC reports were suppressed, unreported, etc., leading to confusion and doubts), they quickly responded. Three who had quit over disagreements or disgust with the SF leadership rejoined. A few others who had criticisms of how the NSC conducted this struggle--some justified, others not--never really wavered on the political questions.

At the subsequent meeting where a new Party leadership was to be organized, comrade Jim Dann and a few others in the Right opposition said they would support, cooperate and carry out the Party line. It was made clear that political differences would not be suppressed, but should be written up and aired to the entire Party. In the meantime, it was expected that these comrades would not carry on guerilla warfare against the new leadership. The line had to be carried out and then evaluated. In future bulletins, the Right opposition should present political arguments (not legal ones) around the issues mentioned. If there are other important political differences to be discussed, we will present them. A serious political discussion will benefit everyone in the Party, whether one fully agrees or has doubts and differences with some, or most, of the Party line.

We expect factionalism to end in the Party in SF. If it persists, if members continue to go outside the Party and organize for their point of view, we will have to take additional organizational measures against factionalism. Factionalism and right-opportunism can only exist when all of us aren't vigorously carrying out the Party line. The best way to win a struggle is for those of us who agree with the line to vigorously carry it out. We should be self-critical about our weaknesses in Party-building around the line.

After setting up the new leadership and getting pledges of cooperation and an end to factionalism, we worked out a rough plan of work through the summer, including:

- (1) Industrial concentration program aimed at improving the work in and outside the plants. This would include consistent agitation, sales, visits with contacts and leadership to forces on the job to build fractions and industrial CAR.
- (2) Build for the April 2 march at Pendleton, strong emphasis on Party-building, May Day, CAR, etc. After April 2nd, rebuild the defense campaign around the concepts outlined in the UF report.
- (3) Building immediately for May Day.
- (4) Organize Party and CAR actions inside and outside the UAW Convention in Los Angeles, May 15.
- (5) Plans to organize Party education around the Party line.

Events in SF constituted a victory for the Party. Comrades closed ranks to fight for the line of the Party. While the new leadership had had less experience than the former one, and to a certain degree is untested, the fight they made for the Party at this crucial moment bodes well for their success, provided all of us are

supportive, self-critical of our weak efforts in putting the Party forward, and collectively turn the work around in SF. The primary act of leadership is not one of skill, but of fighting for and carrying out the Party line. ⑤

(Note: While comrade Jim Dann did address the new Party leadership in SF and pledge his cooperation, despite his continuing differences, and urge all Party members to do the same, and while he also said he "was speaking for Hari Dillon," (who was not present), it is also a fact that Comrade Hari reneged on his pledge to the National Committee to back the new leadership in SF and continued to organize against the Party prior to the meeting at which Jim spoke. However, despite the National Committee's effort to encourage Hari Dillon to help unify the Party while reserving the right to have differences within the framework of democratic centralism, since the reorganization of the Party leadership in SF he has continued to organize against the Party, and to violate certain Party decisions pertaining to the April 2 rally at Camp Pendleton. At the rally, he weakened the Party and CAR presentation by abrogating the decision to have speakers from PLP and CAR speak at the most effective times. Additionally, some of the non-Party speakers as well as a Party speaker from California were encouraged to attack the Party publicly in a not-so-veiled manner. The Party cannot tolerate organizing against it, inside or outside the organization. Consequently, in accordance with the decisions of the last expanded National Steering Committee and the last National Committee meeting at which Comrade Jim Dann's and Hari Dillon's membership in the Party were made contingent on their pledges to cease anti-Party factional activity and encourage the SF Party membership to rally behind the unity of the Party, the San Francisco and the Los Angeles Party leadership have decided to expel Hari Dillon from PLP. This has been approved by the National Steering Committee.

--The National Steering Committee

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION: IF YOU HAVEN'T GOT IT HERE, YOU HAVEN'T GOT IT!

From Day One, our outlook has emphasized confidence in the working class. An early article, written prior to the formation of PLP, was titled: "U.S. workers, Force for Revolution." That set us apart from all the plous opportunists who had found a million reasons to organize anything but workers. A consistent class outlook has kept us on course through years of struggle.

Now we are fighting to maintain that same basic outlook against a right-wing outlook which underestimates the revolutionary potential of the working class and looks to other class elements, mainly the petit-bourgeoisie, to provide the lead. The workers are seen as auxilliary and the revolutionary party just one among many that contribute to "broad" movements. To defeat the right-wing line, the "debate" must go forward to a serious, well-planned commitment to win industrial workers to the Party. One can't have a proletarian line and no proletarians--or, at least not for long. It is possible to have a "correct" line and do nothing about it, or, as Stalin remarked, some comrades don't stand up for Marxism, they sit down on it.

"Theory becomes a material force when it has gripped the masses," says Marx. The word has to become the flesh. That is the task we face. Our job is to bring the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism to the working class, to master the art of struggle, and to win the most class conscious workers to our party so that they may lead the entire class to power.

The Internationale sums up for many of us why we must build our political base among industrial workers: "Without our brains and muscle, not a single wheel would turn." The bosses could do without a lot of things (lawyers, dancers, preachers, guitar pickers, athletes, etc.), but they can't do without the class of producers. We could thrive without the bosses, but they are dead without us. The industrial working class armed with communist ideology and armed can make short work of the can make short work of the capitalist class.

We have to make this happen. We must not keep from workers the very ideas that will liberate them, on the grounds that they aren't "ready" for socialism. We must not be diverted by the fool's gold of big demonstrations or media coverage of our activities, when those activities lack a communist content and are not based on our efforts to win workers. We're not trying to give the bosses a hot-foot; we're planning to trample them with a working-class revolution.

Communists are concerned about the entire working class; as a matter of fact, we're concerned about the future of humanity (minus the bosses). But that's why we recognize and underline the fact that it is the workers of the great industrial centers who--due to their concentration in numbers, organization and crucial role as producers--are the key link in making revolution and the building of socialism. As Lenin remarked: "... THE MAIN STRENGTH OF OUR MOVEMENT LIES IN THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN LARGE FACTORIES, BECAUSE IN THE LARGE FACTORIES ARE CONCENTRATED THAT SECTION OF THE WORKING CLASS WHICH IS NOT ONLY PREDOMINANT IN NUMBERS, BUT STILL MORE PREDOMINANT IN INFLUENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND FIGHTING CAPACITIES. EVERY FACTORY MUST BE OUR STRONGHOLD."

Almost two-thirds of the U.S. gross national product is produced within a 250-mile radius of Chicago, called somewhere, "The city of the big shoulders." If we develop the maturity, understanding and courage of our Marxist-Leninist convictions, we will put ourselves through whatever struggle it takes, internal and ex-

ternal, physical and theoretical, to reach those workers who can settle the class question once and for all. We have to crack the basic industries. What are they?

"Basic industries are those upon which the whole economic system depends. They include: (1) Those which produce material for production, like steel, mining, oil, chemicals. (2) Those which deliver material to the place of production or consumption, like railroad, trucking, marine, etc. (3) Those which produce power for running industry, electric power plants, steam and hydro-electric plants, etc. It is also important to concentrate all our energy to build the party in the auto, textile and packing house industries because of their strategic importance in the economic system." (J. Peters, A Manual on Organizing)

We have to develop a "one-track mind" to succeed. Certainly in the past we have been diverted. We have been to hesitant. It ain't easy. The big ones never are. We will have to continue to ask ourselves that hard question. When we say Pittsburgh, we should mean steelworkers; when we say Detroit, we should mean auto workers; when we say Sudbury, we should mean miners. A little exaggeration, but one can see the point.

Every area should develop a plan for this work. TO BEGIN with, we can guarantee agitational work at the gates of the major industrial plants in each area (paper sales, Party and CAR leaflettings, collections and campaigns we're promoting, rallies, etc.). The first people to hear what the Party thinks and does should be the industrial workers. Reaching them is an art in itself.

In the past we made the mistake of sending students with middle class backgrounds into the plants. However, we now have many more students and others with working class backgrounds. If they grasp Marxism-Leninism and are physically fit, they can cut the mustard. These and other cadre should be asked to take factory work. If it doesn't work out, they can be placed elsewhere. Area leaders should treat all party fraction work as the apple of their eye; without it we'll become windbags.

Wherever fractions exist, or have a hope, in industry, they should be re-inforced. We tend to be too scattered. It is very hard for a cadre operating alone to get a toe-hold. One plus one equals about five.

Political training of industrial cadre should get the most attention. Everything the Party and CAR do should be carried through the fractions so it reaches the workers, and the line is fought for by our cadre. Too often our members in industry have been "out of it," as though at the bottom of a well, while the rest of the Party galloped to and fro to the media, to no avail. Every key question of our Party, all important political struggles, should move through the Party fractions in industry, like oxygen through our blood. The workers are long since ready for our ideas.

The threat of war and fascism is exceedingly urgent. It won't be ended by any cute maneuvers that seek to by-pass the industrial working class. Our Party will have to win this fight to organize these workers if we want to see socialism. Whatever the price may be, let's pay it. As the working class writes its history on this continent, its story will be told in the names of Akron, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Gary, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Hamilton, Sudbury and Windsor.

A handbook should be produced with basic techniques for organizing. It should cover such things as how to produce revolutionary shop papers, skill in collecting names and addresses of workers who take our paper or support our work, calling on workers to explain the views of our Party, organizing Party-led caucuses, waging day-to-day struggles in a political manner, and many others.

-IMPERIALISM-

We live in the epoch of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism ⑦ and the rise of world socialism. The epoch began at the turn of the 20th Century. It has been characterized by intense interimperialist rivalry causing numerous wars around the globe and culminating in two great world wars, the growth of fascism as the principal form of bourgeois rule, and above all the growth of the international communist movement which led the great historic revolutions in Russia and China.

In his classic work on Imperialism, Lenin listed five basic features.

1. The growth of monopolies which arise out of the concentration of capital.
2. The merging of banking capital with industrial capital and the creation of finance capital.
3. The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities.
4. The formation of international monopoly capitalist combines which share the world among themselves.
5. The division of the world among the imperialist powers is completed.

In his letter characterizing the current epoch (Internal Bulletin, A5, March 8, 1977) J. Dann departs from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism.

Dann makes a special point that this was a period of no world wars, that it took 100 YEARS FOR Germany and the US to achieve sufficient finance capital to challenge British supremacy, and it was not obvious until the end of the hundred years of British hegemony from which direction the challenge would come. "To me," Dann says, "US imperialist hegemony gives the present period a character resembling that of British supremacy (1815-1914)."

Dann bas~~e~~s this analogy on the great superiority of US finance capital which has achieved an ultra-imperialist posture in the world compared to other imperialist powers, particularly the Soviet Union. Thus US imperialism, despite certain military setbacks, (Vietnam, Angola) can "buy back" its imperialist dominance in these and other areas. Also US hegemony makes world war unlikely for the present period, because no other imperialist power, ^{including} the USSR, has the finance capital to challenge the US. Hence the Soviets will very probably back off from all nuclear and semi-nuclear confrontations.

What's wrong with this analysis?

Everything.

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The first obvious error is that Dann compares the present epoch with a previous^{us} epoch which was the epoch not of imperialism but of the growth of monopoly capitalism and the rise and transition to imperialism. As Lenin wrote, "The last third of the 19th Century witnesses the transition to the new imperialist epoch. Monopoly is enjoyed by finance capital not in one, but in some, very few, Great Powers..." And "Neither Marx or Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch which began not earlier than 1898-1900." (from Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement)

This "slight" error of confusing two different epochs ^{already} leads Dann to ignore the fact that the world has been divided up between imperialist powers and that the drive to expand the export of capital by different imperialist powers causes a struggle to redive up the world anew. As Lenin wrote, "It is beyond doubt that capitalism's transition to the stage of monopoly capitalism, to finance capital (i.e. the imperialist epoch) is connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world." And "Finance capital and the trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy. Once the relationship of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found under capitalism than that of force." (from "Imperialism")

Dann's second error is to underestimate the significance of the Law of Uneven Development under Imperialism. Dann thinks that world war occurs only when imperialist powers reach a somewhat parity level of finance capital ~~when~~ they challenge one another for hegemony.

Dann writes that, "It was only when German finance capital could challenge British finance capital that all-out war ensued." But this is not the case.

Unevenness in economic and political development is a law of the development of capitalism in general. In the epoch of imperialism it is of "decisive importance." (J. Stalin) "The law of uneven development in the period of imperialism signifies development by leaps and bounds in

some countries as compared with others, a rapid ousting of certain countries by others from the world market, periodic redivisions of an already divided ⁹
up world by means of military conflicts and catastrophic wars,..."

For example, prior to W.W.I, ^{in 1902} British imperialism had a 5 to 1 superiority ^{over}
in the export of capital. German imperialism. By 1914 this superiority
had declined to a $\frac{2}{1}$ and a half to 1 superiority. The point is that world
war broke out, not because of a parity of development of finance capital,
but ^{because} British capital had declined sharply relative to the rapid growth
of German capital, even though British capital exports increased from
62 (billions of francs) to 75-100. ^{But} German imperialist capital export
had increased from 12.5 to 44.0. The point is that German capital was
increasing at a rate much faster than British capital, and could
expand further only by means of ~~a~~ war. Capital, after all, is accumulated
by the exploitation of workers and super-exploitation of workers abroad.

A third error of Dann's analysis of the current epoch is to one-
sidedly emphasize that finance capital exclusively determines the strength
of an imperialist power. While we would agree that finance capital is a key
factor, it is not the only factor. Thus, if an imperialist power can dominate
a territory politically and militarily, it is certainly in a better position
to exploit it economically. ^{9/} If the Dann "buy-back" theory would correspond
to reality, why then should US imperialism even fight local wars in as
much as they could always "buy back" their positions? What Dann leaves
out of his analysis is the role of national bourgeoisie's and their efforts
to maneuver between the super-powers who are contending for domination.
This maneuvering by the capitalist classes of various developing countries
for a bigger piece of the profit action does not lessen the ~~the~~ struggle
between the super-powers because the US has more finance capital; on the
contrary, it sharpens the struggle between them.

Let's Look at the Real World

The Party's analysis of the present period is that the main
contradiction in the world is one of inter-imperialist rivalry between
the Soviet U. and US imperialism; ^{that} US imperialism is in a period of

relative decline vis-a-vis the growing strength of the Soviets, and (10) that this rivalry is growing in intensity and will inevitably lead to war. It is also the party's analysis that ^{the} US ruling class, confronting a developing crisis at home and abroad, is heading toward

fascism. While we don't put a date on when war and fascism will occur in the period ahead, we are struggling to prepare the party and the working class to be ready "sooner than later" to make revolution as the only road forward for the international working class.

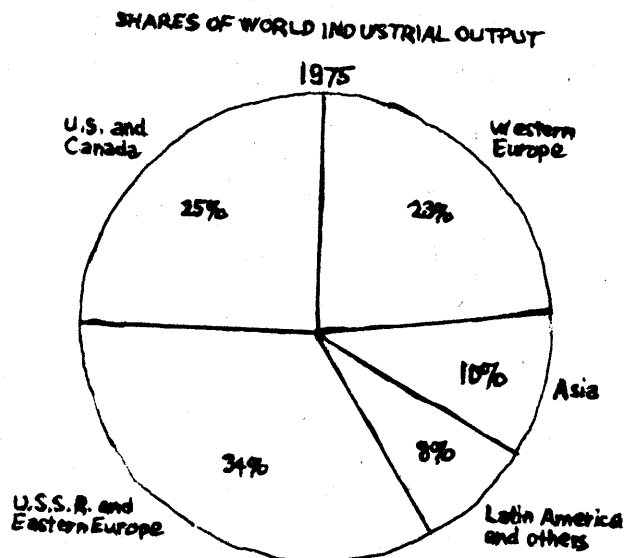
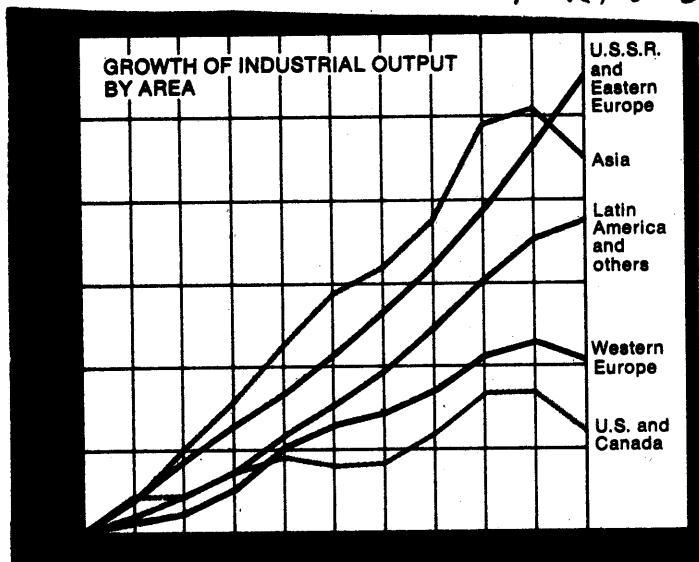
J. Dann, on the other hand, sees the period ahead as one of relative stabilization, of no major danger of world war and fascism, and that while the party can do revolutionary work in all periods, the period ahead is not one of crisis.

Is the US in decline relative to the Soviet Union? (a point J. Dann no longer concedes.)

1. On Industrial production:

The following charts and statistics clearly show that the Soviet Union has been developing at a much faster rate than the US, in such ^{decisive} areas of production as mining, manufacturing, gas and water industries, coal, crude oil and natural gas, light and heavy manufacturing, and even the food, beverage and tobacco industries. (see Charts)

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MARKET ECONOMIES

(12)

% weight (1970)	100.0	7.2	1.1	3.7	1.3	85.9	30.0	55.9	10.5
1960.....	56	63	111	49	73	56	65	52	66
1963.....	66	72	114	60	75	66	74	62	75
1968.....	90	90	103	86	92	91	93	90	91
1969.....	97	95	101	92	95	98	98	98	96
1971.....	102	102	97	105	99	102	104	101	104
1972.....	109	105	90	111	99	109	110	109	108
1973.....	120	112	88	121	103	120	116	122	114
1974.....	122	114	85	124	104	122	117	124	119
J-S ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Note. The indexes of industrial production are classified according to divisions, major groups, or combinations of major groups, of the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC, Rev.2) for the mining, manufacturing and electricity, gas and water.

The indexes indicate trends in value added in constant U.S. dollars. Value added is defined as the gross value of output less the cost of raw materials, containers and supplies, fuels and electricity consumed and of work contracted out. The estimates are generally at factor cost.

The indexes are calculated from 1960. Each series is compiled by use of the Laspeyres formula, that is, the indexes are base-weighted arithmetic means. The weight base years used are 1970 for 1968 and subsequent years, and 1963 for 1960-1968; value added, generally at factor cost, for each of these years is used in weighting. The indexes based on 1963 are linked to those based on 1970 at 1968.

For countries with market economies, the estimates of value added used for weighting purposes are obtained, in most cases, from the results of industrial censuses or other inquiries relating to 1970 and 1963. These census results are adjusted to ISIC and projected to the benchmark years where necessary. The estimates of value added in units of national currency are then converted to U.S. dollars².

(continued on page 28)

¹ Excluding Albania, China, Mongolia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

² Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and USSR.

³ Percentage ratio of the index for January-September 1975 to the index for January-September 1974.

⁴ The data for "Centrally planned economies" exclude printing and publishing.

⁵ For a more complete description, see "Index Numbers of Industrial Production, World" in the United Nations 1972 Supplement to the Statistical Yearbook and the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.

In mining etc., the Soviets rate was about 20% faster than the US, for the years 1960-69 and over 100% faster between '70-'74. In heavy industry, the Soviets were about 18% faster⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ rate of growth than the US for 1950-69 and about 100% between '70-'74. Even in light industry they were growing at a faster rate than the US. (Note that only Japan was growing at an even faster rate until the increase in oil prices and the world-wide recession of '73-'74.)

While these statistics do not tell how much of each category is produced, the chart on shares of the world industrial output shows that the Soviet bloc outproduces the US^(and Canada) by 9% (34%-25%) (although Dann would argue that Western Europe and Latin America and Asia should be included in the US camp; more on allies later). The point here is that the charts clearly indicate that ^{the} US is declining on the industrial front relative to Soviet growth.

2. On OIL and Natural Gas

J. Dann together with H. Dillon in their article in the Internal Bulletin, Jan 12th, 1977 try to portray the picture that it's the Soviets, not the US, that is strategically weak in oil and natural gas. The facts are these : The Soviet Union is the world's biggest producer of natural gas and oil while the US relies more and more on imports. US domestic

production of oil and natural gas has declined since the 1970's while ⁽¹³⁾ US imports have risen from 4.7 mb/d (million barrels a day) to 6.8 mb/d in the first half of 1976 (Foreign Affairs, Apr.1977 p.497).

In 1976 oil and natural gas together accounted for 67% of total energy consumption in the US. (oil, 29%, natural gas 38%). Also, oil and gas imports account for 42% of US energy consumption. The oil bill for 1977 is estimated at 41 billion dollars or about twice the 1976 balance of trade deficit, (~~facts~~ from, British publication, The Guardian, March 6th, 1977) In addition, at present levels of gas consumption, the gas resources have diminished by a quarter in 10 years, and gas production has dropped by 13% in the last 3 years, so that if present consumption levels are maintained the US will have completely exhausted their reserves of natural gas within 12 years!

But J. Dann would argue that US imports come from reliable allies; ~~indeed~~ that the imports are really from US companies abroad which are an integral part of US imperialism. True, but herein lies another fundamental error in J. Dann's analysis which we alluded to earlier...ignoring the contradictions between allies, ignoring the question of political and military control over territories. Who could be a more reliable ally than Saudi Arabia, the world's leading exporter of oil? Saudi Arabia is the only major OPEC country with oil reserves that have been developed wholly by American companies. BUT it was Saudi Arabia that introduced the 50-50 profit-sharing plan between governments and companies (as an alternative to nationalization.) While the Saudis have more recently taken a soft line on price increases (since 1974), in the fall of '73 they were a full partner in initiating the Arab "oil weapon" against the US. Kissinger spoke of using force to prevent strangulation of the industrial world. As ^{the} Foreign Affairs article points out, this "indicates the potential for serious conflict beneath the placid diplomatic surface." The Saudi's are accumulating capital (foreign exchange reserves) at a fantastic rate from 662 million in 1972 to 24,6 billion in mid-1976, or 2/3 that of W. Germany

and 1½ times that of the US or Japan.

(14)

All this represents the point that ^{the} capitalists of Saudi Arabia have their own class interests to pursue and, though certainly an ally of the US, do come into conflict with US imperialism to the point where the US is required to threaten it with military force.

3. Food and Agriculture

While it is well-known that US outproduces the Soviets in food production and the US is an exporter of grain while the Soviets are an importer, it is not true that "US agricultural superiority allows the ruling class to blackmail scores of nations, "even the Soviet Union and its satellites who are dependent on the US for food," as Dillon-Dann claim. US grain exports account for half of all the grain exported in the world. However, as Emma Rothchild, writing in Foreign Affairs (Jan. 1976) points out, food power as a political weapon is an illusion. Rothchild ^(explains) "The world grain market is peculiarly insulated from export embargoes. It is different from the world oil market in that less than one-eighth of the grain produced in the world is traded internationally as compared with more than half of the oil produced." Thus, US grain exports are only 5% of all grain produced while oil exports of the Persian Gulf states account for half of the world's exports and a third of all oil produced. Grain-importing countries therefore have enormously more opportunity than oil-importing countries to buy from odd sources--in the case of countries to which the US refused to sell from the residual 95% of the world harvest.

In addition, Rothchild points out that a US food boycott policy would backfire politically by arousing world-wide resentment against US imperialism and only result in further US isolation. Other contradictions are also pointed out in that the US farmers would also oppose such policies because of their own narrow profit interests. Rothchild also notes that the Soviets have recently invested heavily in self-sufficiency

for agricultural development and in food storage.

(15)

The point is that strategically the US is an increasing importer of oil and natural gas while the Soviets ^{have achieved} self-sufficiency. And that food power as a political weapon is an illusion.

4. Military Power

While the US, after the second W.W. enjoyed a nuclear monopoly and military superiority, this advantage has long since disappeared. Almost all reports (with the exception of Dillon-Dann's) indicate that the Soviet Union has not only caught up but has overtaken the US, militarily. We are not going to bore the readers with more statistics on this. As Gen. Haig, NATO commander said categorically, "They now have the largest accumulation of potential military power the world has ever seen. A global Soviet military power has emerged. At the present rate the Soviet Union alone is annually out-arming all NATO countries put together." As Drew Middleton, military expert for the NY Times noted, "The global military situation that will confront Jimmy Carter as he takes office on Jan. 20 differs significantly from that faced by any of his predecessors since 1945. The difference arises from the growth of Soviet military strength and the relative decline of American power over the last ten years." Paul Nitze, former Deputy Defense Secretary and Secy. of the Navy writes in Foreign Affairs that "The US in 1960 held a slight but increasing advantage over the Soviet Union, and this advantage became greater in about mid-1964. Thereafter, however, Soviet programs greatly accelerated--after the Cuban missile crisis--^{and} started to reverse this trend, so that by mid-1968 the total deployed throw-weights on both sides, before a hypothetical nuclear exchange, were ^{roughly} equal. However, the US operational advantage persisted for sometime thereafter, offsetting the Soviet superiority in deployed throw-weight. For example, if in 1970 the Soviets attacked the US forces, their entire prewar advantage would have been eliminated, leaving the US with substantial superiority at the end of the exchange. However, this situation began to be reversed in

1973, with the Soviets gaining the military capability to end (16) an exchange with an advantage in their favor. ... By 1977, after a Soviet-initiated counter-force strike against the US to which the US responded with a counter-force strike, the Soviet Union would have remaining forces sufficient to destroy Chinese and European NATO nuclear capability, attack US population and conventional military targets, and still have a remaining force throwweight in excess of that of the US. And, after 1977, the Soviet advantage after the assumed attack mounts rapidly."

All these long quotes (and there are plenty more) indicate that the US ruling class and its military advisors are growing panicky about the growth of Soviet military power. As Br't. Secy of State in the Wilson Cabinet, Lord Chalfont noted in his article in the National Review (2/18/77) quoting the Kissinger Doctrine: "The Soviet Union is emerging as a global super-power and there is very little anyone can do to prevent it."

And ^{the} J. Dann thesis is that because of US finance capital, the struggle between the super-powers isn't even a horse race. Does anyone think that the party can base its political line on such nonsense?

5. Political Influence

Dillon-Dann admit the growth of Soviet political and economic influence around the ^{globe,} but try to minimize it in order to emphasize that the US really has nothing much to worry about. In Latin America, Soviet imperialist penetration has increased over the past 20 yrs, D-D admit, but "for the US imperialists the situation hasn't been so good for nearly 18 years," they say. In Africa, D-D write, that "here, too, the Soviets have made huge gains in the last 20 years." But again, it's not the US that is on the decline here (they can always "buy back" what they have lost militarily) but it's the Soviet influence that's on the wane. They cite the dominant state in Central Africa, Zaire, as being under total US control and has achieved a fascist-type stability. Unfortunately, as Lenin said, "Life will assert itself." So ~~the~~ only these ^{last few} very weeks, a crisis developed in Zaire. Let's examine this a little, for it's very instructive. The party's analysis is that the main contradiction in the present

period is Soviet and US inter-imperialist rivalry. Virtually all ⁽¹⁷⁾ international events can only be understood within the frame^{work} of this rivalry, which grows in intensity and makes for a volatile world situation.

Zaire, formerly the Belgium Congo, demonstrates this analysis completely. Back in 1961, Zaire's prime minister and national leader was murdered by the CIA because he was considered too pro-Soviet. Since then \$500 million (1960-73) was sent to prop up their stooge Mobuto. Last year, Angola Zaire's neighbor, came under Soviet influence (MPLA) as the US stood by helplessly, unable to send the troops in, as in the good old days of US hegemony. Then Kissinger hastily makes his African tour to indicate a change in US policy, to back "majority rule" in Zimbabwe, So. Africa, Namibia, etc. Then the ruling class assigns Andy Young to head the UN delegation to give a "new look" to US imperialism. But this charade fools no one---the underlying conflict goes on.

With the backing of the new pro-Soviet government in Angola, 6000 Katangan soldiers invade Zaire. Formerly they were trained and armed by the Belgians, French and Portuguese imperialists. Now they are armed with Soviet weapons and instructed by the Cubans. (The Soviet imperialists just ~~took~~ over where the others had been ousted.) Zaire (as D-D noted) is an important US interest. \$1 Billion is invested in the country which supplies 7% of the world's copper, 67% of its cobalt, and 1/3 of its industrial diamonds. Most of the wealth is in the province under invasion. The current battle may not result in the loss of Zaire to the US bosses who are rushing in additional aid to the ^{desperate} Mobuto regime. In an article in the NY Times of March 23, 1977, it was noted that "if Southern Zaire were to secede and be brought into the Soviet camp, then pro-Moscow Marxist states would form a belt through the heart of the continent running from Angola and Congo on the Atlantic to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean."

And the Dillon-Dann analysis says that it isn't even a horse race because of the strength of US finance capital.

In the Mid-East, "Soviet influence has zig-zagged considerably," says

D-D. But hasn't US influence also zig-zagged considerably? The point is

that Soviet influence over the past 25 years has zig-zagged upward in this region while US influence has zig-zagged downward. The Arab ruling classes are opting for an independent imperialist posture as they accumulate oil wealth and military hardware, but of course they have a long way to go to catch up to the super-imperialist powers. In the meanwhile, they jockey back and forth, going after the best deal they can swing. (18)

In the recent issue of Foreign Affairs, Apr., 1977, George Ball, former Under-secretary of State, writes an article on the Israeli-Arab conflict which highlights the fact that ^{the} ~~the~~ Mid-East situation is highly volatile and could result in an imminent Soviet-US clash following a probable breakdown in the scheduled Geneva Conference sometime this Fall. He urges that the US seek the cooperation of the Soviets in dictating a peace plan to both the Israelis and the Arab states. He directs the main fire at Israeli intransi^gence for refusing to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, spells out the economic liability that Israel is to the US (2.34 Billion a year) and indicates also the internal contradictions that the Carter Administration will face if it pursues a hard line--which he contends is the only line that could stabilize the area for US imperialism. He says "The time is ripe take a strong hand and to save Israel from herself and in the process try to prevent a tragic war that could endanger the economies of the non-communist powe^{rs}, separate the U.S. from its allies and precipitate enormous internal debate, and pose a serious danger of a clash with the Soviet Union,"

This article, of the real situation in the Mid-East, hardly corresponds to the Dann-Billon fable of unchallenged US hegemony and stability.

D-D also admit that Soviet influence has grown in Asia and that the balance of power in Vietnam and India has shifted in their favor. As Kathleen Gough noted in her book, Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia, "As of early 1972, the Soviet Union controlled 80% of India's electric-generating equipment industries, 80% of heavy engineering industries, 30% of iron and steel, 60% of electrical equipment, and 25% of power ^{industries}. With respect to India's export trade, the USSR controlled 57% of India's export of wool, 75% of woolen garments, 53% of cotton, 75% of jute and 51%

of skins. Also since 1965, the Soviet Union has exported very large quantities of weapons to India. It has investments in privately-owned Indian (19) factories which use Soviet raw materials to manufacture goods with cheap Indian labor; the goods are re-exported to the Soviet Union ... " Like Western imperialism, Soviet imperialism aims to control Indian industries, accumulate profits from cheap Indian labor, make India a base for capturing its internal markets and control it politically through a combination of economic and military loans. (For more information on Soviet imperialism in India, Egypt and other so-called "Third World" and developing countries, see the current PL article on Soviet imperialism.)

India is only the second most populated country in the world-- certainly a good source to accumulate some capital-- and the D-D line would have us believe that it isn't even a horse race!

As for other areas of political influence, such as Western Europe, D-D write that "NATO has demonstrated a ^{greater} stability than few alliances in imperialist history." But the problem with the D-D analysis is that (as in the case of Zaire) they do not understand that we live in a world of changing relationship of forces, of contradictions between capitalist classes as well as within capitalist states. (SEATO in South-Asia is finished, so that the "reliable" ally Marcos of the Philippines is reassessing his alliance with the US.) (NYT, 2/24/77).

NATO as an alliance against the Soviet Union has withered over the past decade. Its primary aim has become an instrument for maintaining INTERNAL STABILITY in western Europe. Because of the deepening economic crisis confronting Western imperialist countries, the capitalist classes there are more and more forced to rely on their political reserve--the revisionist socialist bloc to run their system for them and to try to keep the class-

and socialist-conscious workers of western Europe in check, as they did recently in Portugal. While the revisionists assure their capitalist bosses and the US imperialists that they will remain in NATO, the fact is that the US ruling class neither trusts the ^(CP's) reliability, nor the reliability of their French Italian and British allies.

The Dillon-Dann line on the current epoch of imperialism, ^{and} on ⁽²⁰⁾ the immediate period ahead (10-15 years) projects a totally false picture of UNCHALLENGED US imperialist hegemony around the globe, of a US imperialism that is not in serious decline, of a US imperialist alliance that is stable and reliable, of a US imperialist system that is not likely—in the period ahead—to be in a world war or require fascism, because it is "SO STRONG."

This false picture of ^{imperialist} reality as it has developed since the turn of the 20th Century and in the present period, if adopted by the party, would put the party onto the road of becoming a revisionist party. The party will not be lulled by the assurances of Dillon-Dann that we are living in ~~■~~ such a stable world situation. Nor will we lull the ~~■~~ international workingclass with such a distorted view of imperialism.

What About the Working Class

It's indeed curious, that the D-D article on US-Imperialist rivalry and J. Dann's letter on the current epoch and historic period completely ignore what's happening to the US workingclass. Why this oversight? Because any examination of the reality of the sharpening racist attacks on the US workingclass would completely contradict their thesis about the great stability and financial strength of the US imperialists. The fact is, as the Party has pointed out in numerous articles (some of which J. Dann himself helped to write before he changed his mind within the last couple of months), ^{the} that US ruling class is sharpening the ax against the workers precisely because of its serious decline, and its decline is intensified by the economic crisis confronting it. As the Party noted in its pamphlet on the Decline and Fall of Fun City: "In order to keep pace with the other capitalists, the ruling class estimates that it will need possibly up to \$4.5 trillion in the next ten years. The money is to ~~■~~ go for city, state, and local govt. deficits, residual construction, plant expansion(etc...) "The ruling class faces a \$1.5 trillion "capital gap" as pointed out in Business Week's article "The Capital Crisis" 9/22/75.

The fundamental cause of this "Capital Gap" is not only the decline of US imperialism vis-a-vis other imperialist powers, but the decline in the rate of profit. (Marx's analysis is quoted in the Business Week article.) ^(an) ~~As~~ indication of how serious the decline in the rate of profit has become for the US ruling class, the Dept. of Commerce stated that the pre-tax return on invested capital by non-financial corp. (manuf. and ^{ser-} vice) has dropped from just under 17% in 1965 to just over 5% in 1975. (21)

It is to make up for this "capital gap" that the ruling class is stepping up its attacks on the working class in the form of layoffs, cutbacks, wage cuts, higher taxes and prices. Of course the ax is aimed at minority workers in the first place. This is not just a New York City phenomena, but is a crisis confronting every major city and area in the U.S. (including, we may add, the S.F. Bay Area as well!)

How do Dillon-Dann explain these increasing attacks on the working class? How do they explain the growth of such fascist organizations as ROAR and the KKK and others, which have more and more surfaced across the country and openly in the US military establishment?

How do they explain the past decade of growing conflicts within the ranks of the ruling class itself (from the assassination of the Kennedys, the ouster of Johnson, the resignation of Nixon, and the Watergate crisis, etc) if the US ruling class is SO financially strong and stable?

No, they don't explain it--because it fully exposes their bankrupt analysis about the strength and stability of US imperialism.

The Struggle between two lines

The D-D line on imperialism and the current period is a departure ^r from a M-L analysis and constitutes a frontal assault on the basic party line on the growing danger of war and fascism in the coming period. It is a line which has a long history in the international communist movement and in the US communist movement, in particular, which always veered in

~~the~~ direction of right opportunism based on the ^{thesis of the} exceptional strength of US capitalism, and imperialism in general. (22)

Some history of the struggle between the two lines

Lenin's polemics with Kautsky's analysis of imperialism brought about the split between the revisionists and the Bolsheviks. Lenin said "Kautsky's utterly meaningless talk about ultra-imperialism encourages, among other things, that profoundly mistaken idea which only brings grist to the mill of the apologists of imperialism, viz., that the rule of finance capital lessens the unevenness and contradictions inherent in ~~the~~ world economy, whereas, in reality it increases them." And Lenin said, "Compare this reality—the vast diversity of economic and political conditions, the extreme disparity in the rate of development of the various countries, etc., and the violent struggles among the imperialist states—with Kautsky's silly little fable about 'peaceful' ultra-imperialism."

From Kautsky, to Browder, to Khrushchev, the revisionists have always exaggerated the power of the imperialists, minimized and downplayed the contradictions between them, and peddled a line to assure the international working class that revolution was "not possible" because the bosses are "too strong and stable," and ^{also} that the workers need not concern themselves about threats of world wars. Our Party will not go down that road—the road D-D suggests that we take and which the National Committee characterized as "warmed-over Browderism."

Khrushchev had his own twist to the ultra-imperialist line when he set forth the thesis that nuclear weapons made war "obsolete." J. Dann doesn't go that far, but echoes that position by saying that the Soviet imperialists will back off because they know how strong US imperialism's lead is over them, and also that imperialists know their business well and won't risk nuclear war. He is not 100% on this, only "very probably."

Many comrades and workers believe that the US, and Soviet imperialists won't use nuclear weapons and that world war is unlikely because nuclear weapons ^{are} "counter-productive" to imperialist aims. This view was

also peddled by the Chinese communists ^{when they didn't have nuclear weapons} to a certain extent/in their 23
early 1960's polemics with the Soviets when they cited the non-use of
poison gas in the second W.W. However, all comrades and workers should
understand that a third world war will be a nuclear war. This is so
because the entire military apparatus and strategy ^(of the USSR & US) for waging world war
hinges on nuclear capability. It would be bordering on criminal naïveté
to tell the workers of the world "not to worry" about nuclear war because
the imperialists will very probably "back off." When the vital interests
of the imperialists clash--and they are heading in that direction--we
say to the working class: prepare for revolution, and make revolution--
it is the only road to victory for the international working class. Do
not rely on the imperialists to "back off." ^{Do} not heed the counsel of
those who tell us world war and fascism ^(are) "unlikely" for the coming
period. Reject the US 100-yr. hegemony "buy-back" and "back-off" ^{D-D} thesis.

We say, "Build the revolutionary movement Now! Rely on the working
class! Smash the US ruling class's drive toward war and fascism! Unite
around the Party--Defend the Party's Revolutionary Line and smash
the right-wing opposition to the party's line. BUILD THE PLP!

(24)

When NATO Is Viewed As an American Heritage

N.Y. Times 2/24/77

By C. L. Sulzberger

BRUSSELS—I still think it was a mistake not to propose a European officer as NATO's high commander in the 1950's—some time after General Eisenhower and before General Lemnitzer—to demonstrate United States recognition of true philosophical equality in the West's grand alliance.

For, had such a move then been suggested, nuclear inhibition precised by the American Congress could have been handled by a special United States deputy to the allied chief, and an operational flexibility might have been established while the West still held a decisive edge over the Soviet Union.

Now it is too late. The day of an edge has gone. And all seven NATO military bosses since SHAPE headquarters were first established 26 years ago have been American. The United States has become accustomed to being boss. And, even worse, our smaller allies would regard it as a frightening hint of Washington's intent to disengage were we to put forth such an idea now, as the Soviet Union forges steadily ahead as the world's single dominant armed force.

Gen. Alexander M. Haig, present NATO commander, makes no bones about that. He says categorically: "They now have the largest accumulation of potential military power the world has ever seen. A global Soviet military power has emerged. At the present rate the Soviet Union alone is annually out-arming all NATO countries put together." This being the case—and one by no means stated only by General Haig—it should come as steadying news to all the NATO partners, North American and European, as well as to the rest of the Western world that there appears no likelihood General Haig will be replaced by President Carter at this critical historic moment.

The general, who has just returned from the United States, where he saw the President as well as other leaders of the new Administration, was regarded as a "Nixon man" when he first was named for the NATO job, having served in key positions of the last Republican President's National Security Council. But he regards himself as a nonpolitical "military man." After all, he served President Lyndon Johnson in Washington and was a top member of the staff of then-Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus Vance.

General Haig admits there is neither a NATO statute nor a precedent fixing the term of office for the alliance's commander. Nevertheless, he observes, all commanders (including himself) have also been commander-in-chief of United States forces in Europe.

The term for that post is two years. Haig was reappointed to it in November 1976 by President Ford and therefore remains in his NATO office. "This is a military assignment," he told me. "I don't expect any changes."

Considering traditions of the past quarter century, considering the link between SACEUR (the United States European command) and SAC (supreme allied commander), and also considering the fact that Haig just saw Carter, this is a most significant statement. It implies that, at the very least, Haig will be running the allied armies

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for almost two more years and, remembering his youth (52), maybe markedly longer.

This is regarded as a comforting probability by our allies even though some were initially querulous about accepting a man involved in the Watergate windup. He has made much headway over here. Rumors, after Carter's election, that he might depart were disheartening, and it is a stabilizing factor that he appears set to stay.

General Haig sums up the essence of the alliance in one phrase: "A successful coalition includes an equitable distribution of risk." This means the United States must—and will—take the same gambles it expects of tiny Luxembourg. It is the first time I have heard the problem summed up so succinctly since President de Gaulle of France initially conjectured that, once Soviet missiles could strike American soil directly, Washington's resolution would falter.

Yet equitable distribution of risk also requires equitable distribution of effort if the alliance is to remain effective. It must reconcile itself to the probability of an increasing Soviet edge over the West in both quantity of weapons and of trained frontline manpower.

This is a new situation for a NATO commander. There has been a gradual but cumulative change from the overwhelming nuclear advantage and basic nuclear strategy of the alliance that existed twenty years ago. It is not that a new strategy is now needed, but a new resolve which has been lacking in recent years. On that, more anon.

Our party has developed a vigorous analysis of inter-imperialist rivalry, war and fascism which makes clear the need and possibility of proletarian revolution. It has elaborated the new concept of making revolution primary over reform throughout our work. Yet despite verbal agreement with this line, the old practices of absorption in reform issues and hesitation in bringing the ideas of revolution to the masses remain, to one degree or another, throughout our party. These old ideas and practices represent a right-wing drift; they find their highest expression in Dann and Dillon's recent articles and leadership. Only the most relentless repudiation of this revisionist line--both in theory and more importantly, in practice--will enable us to give adequate leadership to the working class in an era of ever more ferocious attacks by the bourgeoisie.

Even in Dann's theoretical contributions to the party of the recent past, he displayed an overestimation of the staying power of the bourgeoisie and an underestimation of the role of racist ideology as a weapon of the bosses. In the "Who Rules America" pamphlet, he stressed the power and control of the large banks at the expense of the contradictions in the ruling class (as revealed in the Watergate pamphlet on the struggle of the old vs. the new money). In an internal debate, he argued that the energy crisis was all a hoax; he focussed on the secondary aspect--the profit-gouging of the oil companies--and ignored the primary aspect, the real decline of US imperialism, coupled with the relative independence of the Arab bourgeoisies which forced US rulers to undermine the much-vaunted "American standard of living". In his articles on fascism, Dann rightly stressed the role of finance capitalism but downplayed the importance of racist ideology (he also argued strongly against the crucial role of racist ideology in Nazism in discussions of fascism in Denver). These weaknesses, the minor aspect of his previous contributions, have become primary in the new position of Dillon and Dann which denies that US imperialism is in sharp decline, denies the increasing severity of inter-imperialist rivalry, and, as if blindfolded, ignores the daily more obvious consequences--visible simply from reading the newspapers--of coming fascism and war.

As Lenin stresses, the 20th century opened a new stage of history with the crystallization of imperialism, an era characterized by inter-imperialist rivalry, war and revolution. Due to the slaughter of millions of workers in the decadent interests of their respective bosses in World War I, the Russian Revolution, the rising class struggle throughout Europe, and the emergence of the new communist movement, the 1920s and early '30s saw a new development in the bourgeoisie's desperate efforts to hold power: the emergence of fascism, especially in its most virulent form, Nazism. Dann and Dillon wish that the present stage of US imperialism was a throwback to the "idyllic" period of "peaceful" pre-imperialist

development for nearly a century between 1815 and 1900. While ⁽²⁶⁾ all parallels are rough because history never repeats itself exactly, the evidence points far more strikingly to the similarities between Germany in the '20s and the US than to any return to the pre-imperialist epoch.

Post-World War I Germany was characterized by an extensive concentration in industrial production and the increasing strength of the banks. Through inflation, depression and then fascism, the great industrial combines continuously gobbled up German small business. They also extended their economic interests throughout the world, seeking not only a "place in the sun" as in the 1890s, but direct conquest of Europe, Russia and the world. The role of US banks and corporations, with their post-World War II dreams of an "American Century" and Jimmy KKK's plans to revive those "glorious years" parallels concentration and expansion in Germany in the early 20th century far more nearly than it does the nineteenth century, and the relatively competitive capitalism characteristic of England. In addition, the post-World War I period was characterized by sharpening contradictions among the imperialists, as well as against the then socialist Soviet Union; today's US-Soviet rivalry provides a close parallel to earlier inter-imperialist sparring which has already led to two world wars in this century.

Post-World War I Germany had been defeated. Its working class was not only not patriotic, but was far more permeated with Marxist ideas than the US working class is currently. The German bosses could not call on workers to make war and several insurrections between 1919 and 1923 showed that proletarian revolution was on the agenda. The German bosses were saved only by the sellout policies of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the political weaknesses of the German Communists (KPD) (see below).

While the US defeat in Vietnam was not nearly so devastating as the German, and US workers are far less radical at the moment, the experience of the 1960s represented a serious defeat for US rulers. US cities erupted in rebellions; major civil rights and anti-war movements emerged among students; wildcat strikes as in auto and the post office demonstrated the weak grip of the AFL-CIO sellouts, and most importantly, mass resistance to fighting in an imperialist war, highlighted by fragging of officers, emerged among working-class GIs in Vietnam. These outbursts of class struggle tremendously limited the maneuverability of US imperialism; the threat of combined revolt if the imperialists continued to escalate their war effort or used nuclear weapons in Vietnam curtailed the bosses' options. In essence, the US imperialists--like their German counterparts in the '20s--were deprived of the number one weapon of imperialism: the capacity to field a reliable army. Beyond this, the overall decline

of US imperialism—demonstrated ~~d~~^{the} dramatically in defeat in Vietnam, the energy crisis, Watergate, and so forth—has forced the bosses to intensify greatly the exploitation of US workers. From workers freezing to death in American cities this winter to 65% unemployment among minority youth, the deadly toll of US imperialism rises day by day; the idea of the special "affluent" status of the US workers, and with it, of US hegemony in the world, becomes more and more of a joke. The rulers cannot revive the will of workers to fight and die for this system easily or get them to put up indefinitely with worsening conditions here at home (the Wall Street Journal has predicted renewed rebellions for this summer). As their only ~~remedy~~, the bosses have suddenly discovered, in the words of Trilateral Commission spokesman Sam Huntington, the need to end the "Democratic Distemper"—the "spirit of protest" of the '60s which has "overburdened democracy" and made it "ungovernable". "Democracy's lifespan", he hints darkly, is near its end.¹ (Huntington, by the way, authored Carter's "human rights" speech during the campaign).

Needing desperately to field an army but confronted with increasing class struggle, the German bosses used racist ideology as a key weapon. Racism in Germany—the ideas of a special Aryan Volk and genocidal practices against Jews and Slavs—had been prevalent throughout the Nineteenth Century². In the 20th century, borrowing from the US eugenics movement and IQ testing, this racism was intensified. In his 1928 book Human Heredity, Fritz Lenz highlighted the role of US army World War I IQ testing used especially against blacks to provide pivotal "evidence" for a "master race". Nazi anthropologist Hans F.K. Günther hailed the US eugenics movement with its immigration, sterilization and miscegenations laws as "the most advanced in the world":

"The highly developed eugenic research, which in North America has become something like a patriotic preoccupation gave Grant's (the Passing of the Great Race) and Stoddard's (The Rising Tide of Color) works a sure scientific foundation, and had already made the ground ready everywhere for the reception of racial and eugenic theories. Further, there has been the whole-hearted support of leading men, and of a section of the Press; while President Harding in a public speech (on 26th October 1921) pointed out the importance of Stoddard's book... and Congress, accepting Grant's views, passed the Immigration Laws, which are to encourage the wished-for north west European immigration, and to put a bar on the unwished-for immigration from south and east Europe."³

The most thoroughgoing and persistent racist developments within capitalist countries arose in Germany and the United States. Bourgeois scholars often point to the similarities between Nazism and "backward" Italian fascism, but in this crucial respect, the real parallel is between Germany and the "advanced" "democratic" US ruling class.

In Germany, bands of racist thugs, the Freikorps and later the Nazis, marauded under the protection of police and government. Even more than the Camp Pendleton commandant saluted the KKK for its interests in common with the Marine brass, the state prosecutor Stenglein praised Hitler after the unsuccessful 1923 Munich putsch:

Hitler came of a simple background; in the big war as a brave soldier he showed a German spirit, and afterward, beginning from scratch and working hard, he created a great party, the "National Socialist German Workers' Party," which is pledged to fighting international Marx~~ism~~ and Jewry, to settling accounts with the November criminals, and to disseminating the national idea among all layers of the population, in particular the workers. I am not called to pass judgment on his party program, but his honest endeavor to reawaken the belief in the German cause among an oppressed and disarmed people is most certainly to his credit.⁴

Hitler did not lack for friends in high places. As our party has stressed previously, the Nazis were not always a big mass movement. They started small (as one among a large number of bands of racist thugs). They grew because the threat of communist revolution was rising in the depression, because the middle classes were desperate, because the Nazis were protected by the government, and mainly because the Communists left them alone.

Today, the KKK in the marines or LA, ROAR in Boston, the US Nazis in Chicago, represent the same scurvy racist potential as the original Nazis. The continual ruling class celebration of racists from the wide publicity given E.O. Wilson and Sociobiology to the American Academy for the Advancement of Racism's honoring of Jensen and Glazer (author of Affirmative Discrimination) legitimizes these thugs; the rulers have made a new form of racist mass murder--Cowan in New Rochelle and a similar case in Denver 4 months ago in which a Nazi murdered a black man at the movie -- the latest "fad".* All these developments indicate the growing trend toward fascism. The need to defend US business in South Africa as well as to stop rebellion among unemployed minority youth will only magnify these racist developments during the coming period of time. Racism and ultimately fascism is the road down which the US ruling class is plunging. Only the blind could miss it.

*Mass murder was big in Germany in the 1920s. One named Denke murdered some 253 people and made the corpses into a variety of products. Brecht prophetically suggested that Germany should be renamed not the land of "poets and thinkers (Dichter und Denker) but the land of Dankes. "Denke is the name of a criminal who killed people in order to use their corpses. He canned the meat and made soap from the fat, buttons from the bones, and purses from the skins. He placed his business on a scientific footing and was extremely surprised when, after his apprehension, he was sentenced to be executed...I contend that the best people of Germany, those who condemned Denke, failed to recognize the qualities of true German

Not any fascist army will fight hard. The Italian fascists, for example, could mobilize relatively a slight force compared to the Nazis who fielded 6 million men at Stalingrad alone. Most bourgeois armies fold in the face of stiff opposition as France proved in WW II or the US in Vietnam. It will not be easy for the US government to field a serious army. "Master race" ideas are ideas to march by. For the bourgeoisie, they are the only ideological force which permits the forging of a serious army.

Given these rough similarities in the situation of the US, and Germany, what are the main lessons of the weaknesses of the German communists (KPD)? From the practice of the united front in San Francisco, emphasizing petty bourgeois forces, the black bourgeoisie and revisionists, Dillon and Dann appear to follow bourgeois scholarship. The bourgeoisie (and originally Trotsky and the 7th congress of the Comintern) lambasted the German KPD for attacking the Social Democrats as social fascists. The KPD saw that the Social Democratic leaders in the government organized the Freikorps to shoot down the rebellious workers' in 1919. As SPD minister Noske put it, "Someone must be the bloodhound; I will not shirk the task".⁶ They murdered communist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, meted out harsh sentences to workers, and favored and protected the Nazis.

In the early 1930s, the Social Democrats truckled to the rising Nazis. When the Social Democratic police chief (!!!!!) of Prussia (the largest state in Germany) was thrown out of office and replaced by a Nazi, the Social Democrats bragged that they had "killed and wounded more leftists than rightists" while in charge of the police department. They hoped to appeal to the high courts but the Nazi takeover cut them off along the way. Naturally they could not mobilize the workers whom they hated and feared. On May Day 1933 after Hitler took power, the Social Democratic trade union leaders marched under Nazi banners in Hitler's parade. Hitler figured there was nothing left to them, locked them up the very next day and replaced them with his own men. These Social Democrats were both lemmings and traitors. Comrades Dann and Dillon, is Carleton Goodlet or Ron Dellums any different from these social fascists?

The KPD's strength, not its weakness, was its clear line on these traitors. But like the Social Democrats, the Communists failed to rely on the masses.

The KPD was mainly a party of unemployed workers. Despite receiving 6 million votes in 1932, less than 10% of its members were in factory cells, and these mostly in light industry.⁷

*(continued from p 4.) genius which the fellow displayed, namely: method, conscientiousness, cold-bloodedness, and the ability to base one's every act on a firm philosophical foundation...They should have made him a Ph.D., with honors." ³

Unlike the Bolsheviks, it made no ~~attempt~~ to win the political leadership of these masses of workers, and use ^a stronghold among organized industrial workers as a pivot to lead the whole class struggle. It left them under the leadership of the Social Democratic unions. Dillon and Dann share this weakness--

they sought to organize a united front with the petty bourgeoisie, not a united front from below, based on political agitation around the Camp Pendleton revolt among workers. Our party's aim, like the Bolsheviks, is to win political leadership of the industrial working class.

The KPD's 2nd weakness was its failure to fight racism. In the early 20s; following the advice of opportunist (later Trotskyist) Radek, they argued that defeated Germany was now an oppressed nation (the Versailles treaty had imposed onerous reparation payments on Germany) rather than an imperialist one, and temporarily put forward the fascist slogan of "National Bolshevism". While this Nazi slogan met with resistance and was subsequently withdrawn, it reflected the KPD's hopeless lack of understanding of the link between racism and fascism. Unlike the Bolsheviks who took anti-semitism head on in Russia, for example, in their pre-WW I victorious mass campaign in defense of Beilis, a Jew accused of the "ritual murder" of a Christian boy, the KPD never lifted a finger on this question. Our party stresses the link between the propagation of racism under imperialism and the rise of fascism. It is notable that Dann and Dillon's theory of the present period deletes this essential point. In practice, they have pressed the "defense of the Camp Pendleton 14" at the expense of our line on multiracial unity and the need for revolution to defeat fascism (In the CAR Camp Pendleton pamphlet as well as the Pendleton 14 defense committee leaflet, multiracial unity is dropped; Dillon edited interimperialist rivalry, war, fascism, and the need for a party to lead the revolution out of the party pamphlet "Turn the Guns Around", leaving it—despite the title—vague and abstract).

The KPD's third weakness was its failure, when it was big and the Nazis small, to stamp them out. The KPD fought only in self-defense. Meanwhile, the Nazis mobilized vigorously among the peasants, and moved into working class areas like Neukölln in Berlin which were Communist strongholds.⁸ The KPD could have crushed all these rattlesnakes' eggs at the start; instead it let them hatch and flourish.

On May Day 1975, our Party led the way in organizing to kill fascists in a multiracial working class march through South Boston. The summer project in Boston was equally militant. We brought the line of multiracial unity and death to the fascists to tens of thousands of Boston workers and were welcomed. Unlike Dillon and Dann's conduct of the Camp Pendleton defense, CAR and PL were savagely attacked in Boston by ROAR, the ruling class, revisionists and nationaists; despite our many weaknesses in carrying out the line, our efforts exposed ROAR as a violent

racist organization, and temporarily subdued the rulers' efforts (31) to develop race war in Boston.

The main aspect of the attack by the black marines on the KKK was death to the fascists. Instead of defending this heroic act in the spirit of May Day in Boston, the CP ~~W~~ defense committee has played down multiracial unity and dictatorship of the proletariat-- a San Francisco party member was provoked by the Dillon and Dann line into attacking red flags brought to a demonstration in Oceanside by comrades from LA (as only ROAR and the police did in Boston). That was Dillon and Dann's line in practice.

The effect of the line Dann and Dillon have pushed toward the marines is not to unite with them on the basis of the party's revolutionary outlook and strengthen their heroism; it is to cool them off and win them to the timid calculations of the revisionists and nationalists who know how to tiptoe around the ruling class "masters" and fight the masses. No clearer proof of this could exist than Dillon's open factionalizing against the Party editorial against taking aid from the enemy as "racist" with some of the Marines. Dillon's position was both classically anti-communist and racist--anti-communist because it suggested that raising revolutionary ideas meant having some other aim in view than defending the marines (i.e., being "outside agitators"); racist because it denied to these marines the very revolutionary ideas toward which their actions pointed so strongly, and because it lacked the confidence in them to defend openly their subversion of the Brass--KKK axis. Apparently, the revolutionary fight to put an end to capitalism and racism is "racist" for Dillon, but sucking up to nationalist bosses like Goodlett--who oppose the marines anti-racist rebellion--is quite "anti-racist". This is simply revisionist painting black as white and white as black.

The historic weaknesses of the KPD should be examined within the context of a new situation in the US and in the revolutionary movement. The old communist movement by building nationalism even in its greatest efforts--the Soviet defeat of the Nazis in WWII, Mao's New Democratic line in the Chinese revolution--have ultimately led to the triumph of revisionism. Furthermore, the US working class is multiracial. It requires the sharpest line against nationalism as well as racism to forge a new revolutionary movement among workers in this country. The bosses understand this all too well. They have promoted ROOTS to build a base for black bourgeois leadership, revelling in its "princely" African background, men like Haley himself, Andrew Young, Tom Bradley, Coleman Young, et al, to soften up black workers (and anti-racist whites) for increased unemployment, police terror, or dying to defend US investments in South Africa. Some integration of the ruling class accompanies increased segregation among workers. Within the most oppressed group,

a black Judenrat is needed to deal with Jimmy KKK as Kastner mingled with Eichmann and other Nazis in "Jew-clean" Berlin. Kastner lied shamelessly to persuade his home village of Kluj in Rumania to go peacefully to Auschwitz.⁹ As Eichmann put it, without the Judenrat, only 3 million Jews (if indeed that many) could have been transported to their deaths. The black bourgeois forces, the Carleton Goodlets and the Andrew Youngs, are the same kind of monsters.

The revisionists can smell Dillon and Dann's reactionary line a mile away. The most recent Guardian features a photo of Mari Dillon, lawyer Weitzman (a friend of the party) and 2 of the defendants. It quotes Weitzman on the need to fight the "lily white system". Black nationalism is not anti-racist. It disguises the essence of capitalism and serves to increase the exploitation of black workers and all workers. As the KPD might have put it, it is black fascism as surely as the SPD was social fascism; it seeks to bend the class hatred of the most oppressed workers against white workers, while sharing the loot with white bosses. Our mass line of fighting racism and "multiracial unity against capitalism" is the only line that can serve the most oppressed workers and all workers. The revisionist trend in the party strives to keep these vital ideas from workers.

Marxian theory is not the blind leading the blind. Its purpose is not to cling to the seemingly stable elements in the present situation (the seeming strength of US capitalism), but to grasp the development of trends in the class struggle from their inception and provide leadership to the workers. The Italian socialist Turati clung to the open revisionists against the communists until the triumph of Italian fascism--then, he made a belated self-criticism. The Communist International rightly responded:

"He cannot be called a leader of the proletarian masses who with great effort and after the lapse of several years comes to a correct conclusion, but rather he who can detect a tendency at its birth and can warn the workers in time of the peril that menaces them."¹⁰

The theory that capitalism (in this case US capitalism) is all-powerful is an old bourgeois standby. Marx attacked it in Capital as the view that bourgeois production relations are "eternal". It has been revived in the revolutionary movement by many revisionists--Bernstein (the middle class is growing and capitalism is stabilizing); Kautsky "ultra-imperialism"; Bukharin, the peaceful growing of capitalism, especially the rich peasants, into socialism, Liu-Shao chi's theory of the productive forces, and so on. There is nothing original in Dann and Dillon's ideas and their practice. They even use the words "chaos" and "anarchy" to attack the party's revolutionary line which is merely an echo of the bourgeoisie's response to all working class revolt.

Dann and Dillon deny the character of this entire era, of inter-imperialist war, fascism and revolution, which have grown with the 20th century and will not be banished without the victory of socialism. The triumph of revisionism in Russia not only does not alter, but strengthens, this character. Only the most thorough repudiation of all revisionist ideas, only the most unambiguous political efforts to clarify the real character of war and fascism among the workers, and to prepare them, through joining our party or supporting our activities, to deal with it, will enable our class to stamp out its oppressors.

—a comrade from Denver

1. Crozier, Huntington and Watanuki, The Crisis of Democracy.
2. George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology
3. Gunther, The Racial Elements of European History, 260
4. Bracher, The German Dictatorship, pp. 119-20.
5. Otto Friedrich, Before the Deluge, 377-388
6. Robert Waite, Vanguard of Nazism, ch. 1-3.
7. Piatnitsky, The Present Situation in Germany.
8. W.S. Allen, The Seizure of Power. Halperin, Germany Tried Democracy
9. Ben Hecht, Perfidy. Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem.
10. Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, 96

The new fascism is simply the fact that the big bourgeoisie (boojies) must institute a real brutal exploitation of the working class in such a way so as not to provoke revolt, rebellion, and a communist-led insurrection. The liberals' covert support for fascism gives way to overt support, but disguised by all sorts of games to cloud our minds so we cannot see them at work. In order to understand this situation, we have to take a brief look at the old fascism and trace some of its roots.

[By the way, one of the first task of the liberals, ^(white and minority) especially those who control culture through education, the media, and film, is to rewrite the history of fascism and to wipe out as completely as possible its finance-capitalist roots. There is a show on public broadcasting (and maybe on regular broadcasting) called World at War which, like Roots, under the guise of giving us some "left" truth, i.e., the immense contribution of the Soviet Union in fighting off and defeating the oldstyle Nazis, clearly eliminates, as it must, the class nature of World War II.] So, let us make some sharp assertions, based on research, to clarify oldstyle fascism.

much of
1. Modern fascism had its roots in the United States, in the old slave labor system and codes of the agricultural bourgeoisie (slaveholders), in the racist segregation laws of 1896, in the rise of the liberal-white terrorist alliance against communism put together by Woodrow Wilson (1915-23) and later continued by Adolph Roosevelt and ~~all~~ other president who allied ~~himself~~ with the Southern Reactionaries. **This was** the Ku Klux Klan which was the backbone of the Democratic Party until 1939 and the rise of Hitlerism. **The** rise of anti-fascist militancy, led by our communist movement, among the workers, made it necessary for Adolph Roosevelt to end the overt alliance. The antisemitic bullshit of the Klan-Democrats became too heavy in the light of ^{these} anti-racist, anti-fascist attacks mounting against domestic and international fascism. So, the Klan was declared subversive. All that meant was that it had to be put on the shelf until it was safe to bring the little Fuehrers back out, as in 1948, with the instituting of the Cold War by Truman.]

The main point is this: top leaders in the Democratic Party—were either members of the Klan, ex-members of the Klan, or from states where you couldn't get elected without the support of the Klan or its approval. This was in the period 1916-1936. So, like the Nazis, the KLAN had control of state power as agents of Fincapism.

Now, I am saying all this in a kind of rambling way to point out that the first fascist group, in my opinion, with a rather mass base, built on racism, and working as the open arm of terror of the boojies within a major industrial nation was the KKK. That none of the prefascist groups formed in Europe during the 1916-1923 period had the influence or numbers. When the Black Shirts were a thought in Mussolini's subconscious mind, when the Brown Shirts were the color of men's fashions, the White Sheets were swooping to power. By 1923, when Mussolini marches on Rome, the KKK has 100,000 members, bankrolled by major industries, especially US Steel in Indiana, auto companies in Michigan, and agro-businesses and textile firms throughout the South. While no open Klan member ever became a president of the United States, they or their supporters controlled every major state in the Midwest, Southwest, and South, particularly in the industrial heartland and among the highly profitable sections of Southern agriculture. The only refinement which Mussolini and Hitler introduced into the plan was they personally were given state power by the Italian and German ruling class, with the massive support of the international ruling class. Thus in the US, Italy, and Germany, fascism was the product of finance capitalism in contradiction with the rising wrath of an aroused, communist-socialist-led working class.

Now, what were the main characteristics of Klan-fascism (which are also the main characteristic of the old fascist movement in general)? It is important to point out this so that we can see how Roots, the coming wars in Africa, war and fascism, and neo-racism all fit together. (35)

1. The klan was recruited from the ranks of the ^{white} middleclass and the petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the labor movement (mainly the American Federation of Labor) and from backward sections of the workingclass in general (mainly workers who were extremely culturally deprived by a deliberate system of stupefaction through fundamentalist religion, lack of education, malnutrition, and heavy, heavy doses of sadistic-type bigotry, prejudice, and ~~hate~~ ^{phobia}, mixed in with sexist conditioning). However, the main component of the Klan, as with the Nazi-Fascist party, was the middleclass and petty boobies. So, the class composition of the old fascism must be kept in mind, because there is this myth of the Klan members being "raving redneck" workers, which is a racist, antiworkingclass lie.

2. The klan, like the Nazi-Fascists, was an anti-communist/socialist organization, designed to complement the "legal" persecution of radicals instituted by Woodrow Wilson from 1917-1922. The Anti-Foreign Aspect of the KLAN LINE is both economic and POLITICAL, SINCE FOREIGNERS BROUGHT IN RADICAL IDEAS.

3. The klan was ultranationalist as well as racist. It was a vital part of the eugenics movement, signalled in their white purity campaigns and their atrocities against white and blacks guilty of "miscegenation." Their castrations of ~~hundreds~~ ^{hundreds} of black victims links up to the sterilization of hundreds of white women because of "impure blood" or "racial pollution." IN other words, ^{the Klan} made racial purity the essence of nationalist solidarity and openly called for—with massive support from the boobies through its academic theorists—a white, gentile America.

4. The Klan was antisemitic in the Hitlerite way of linking Jews with being a conspiratorial group; with being the controllers of the banks which were crushing out the lives of the pettyboobies and the middle class, particularly farmers; with being sexual monsters threatening the lives of white women; with being behind all ~~anti-racist~~ ^{anti-racist} reforms. Most of all, the Jews were the agents of bolshevikism, the great enemy of White America. Here is the similarity in this shit and what was to come later in Hitler's Mein Kampf.

The new fascism wants to accomplish the same tasks as the old—the rigid suppression and maximum exploitation of the working class — but in a new way. We can get hypnotized by watching too many atrocity movies about the Nazi-Fascist-Klan movement. The new fascism will commit atrocities all right — preventable ~~diseases~~ ^{diseases}, rotten transportation, death and mutilation on the jobs, poisoning by pollution, world war III — but not necessarily with mass shootings of blacks on Times Square or the killing of Latino children in the streets of San Diego. So, we got to look backwards at the first fascist organization to get some idea of what will be kept under the new fascism and what will be radically changed.

Fascism institutes near-slavery and slavery conditions on the working class and keeps it, or tries to keep it, under control by heavy doses of racism and national chauvinism, to try and get workers not to see a class interest but a racio-national interest, to cut them off from contact with workers of other colors so as to cloud their minds so they cannot see the fincapists at work. This the Klan-Government coalition did in the South. For concentration camps, they instituted the Southern Penal System, the most ghastly organization in the world before Buchenwald, Dachau, and Auschwitz. Here was persecution of the workingclass, carried out on race lines, to prevent even physical unity between black and white prisoners. There were no gas chambers for the mass extermination of the weak and the useless. Just starvation, torture, brutalization. As in Italy and Germany, the Southern workers labored long and hard for peanuts during the twenties and thirties. Over the entire South (and many Southern parts of the midwest), the conditions of terrorism and legalized brutality were for all blacks, and many whites, similar to that which would emerge in Nazi-Germany.

Now, how will the new fascism differ from the old? First, it will incorporate selected members of the minority population into all sectors of fascist rule, so as to (36) create integration at the top, segregation at the bottom. Neo-fascism will seek to consolidate its base among the dwindling, desperate middle class, so that it can act as a buffer. Part of the middle class (professionals, so-called white collar workers, small businesspersons, farmers, etc.) will be made prejudiced and bigoted to serve as a reserve for terrorist groupings. Part will be integrated to show that black and nonblack people have a stake in maintaining "integration." In other words, carrot and stick. This dying class, because it has control over the educational, media, and mind-conditioning apparatus of capitalism, will still play a significant part in retarding class consciousness among the working class. That is its essential task: TO PREVENT THE EMERGENCE INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKING CLASS COMMUNIST IDEAS BY DESTROYING THE BASE OF SUCH CONSCIOUSNESS, class consciousness. Before, this was done primarily through terror (Klanazism). This time it will be done through a mix of terrorism (military-police-Klanazism) and cajolment (that is, persuasiveness, ala Carter and Andrew Young.)

And to look "good" on paper, the new fascists will have women and minorities in visible positions, will even call for human rights and religious ethics. But mostly it will seek to undercut our anti-fascist struggle by arguing—how can you say we are racists when we have so many minorities in the government? How can you say we are anti-democratic when we have a populist president? How can you say that we are fascist, which was a super-sexist movement, when we have Ms. Carter supporting ERA? How can you say we are fascist, which glorifies white history, when we present programs exposing the truth of slavery on TV and in the movies? You people are just being extremists. One more: how can you say we are fascists, when fascists hated Jews, and we are pro-Israel?

The boojies would love to opt for super-oldstyle fascism in order to hurry up their program of getting ready for world war III. But the political maturity of the US working class prevents that. The sporadic outbursts of resistance symbolized by illegal strikes, wildcats, and on-the-job sabotage frightens them. They couldn't get away with having Ronald Reagan introduce fascism. The reactionary-conservative politicians, ^{and} useless in light of the new political maturity of our class. Therefore, the liberals, who in the past seemed utterly opposed to the fascist solution, who in the past were seen by the leaders of our old movement as "the lesser of the two evils" (Roosevelt yes, Hitler no, Nazi-Fascism got to go), who in the past were genuinely anti-fascist (some of them), this liberal group now "openly" advocates fascism ("Democracies are dying." "If you make too many demands for social change on democracies, you will kill them."). And to soften us up for the coming fascist phase, they must rewrite the history of the two major fascist periods in human history: the slavelabor period (Roots) and the Hitler era (World at War, The Memory of Justice, Biography of Hitler, etc.). In the rewrite, slavery is not the result of mercantile capitalism but of "bad people." The slaveworkers are not members of the proletariat but descendants of African warriors. The issue is not revolution, but going back to your roots (reaction, nostalgia, turning away from the present, familiness.) World War II is not the result of the need to crush the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, but of a crazy man named Hitler. The Nazis were not bankrolled by every major capitalist power, but were tough, cruel men who took over Germany. Hitler's war against Western Euro-America was not interimperialist rivalry but the desire for revenge of the crazy German people. THE WORD IS MYSTIFICATION: to disguise the class nature of history, to blunt, corrupt, and fog up class consciousness, so as to prevent communists from winning the working class to a consciousness of its historic task: the smashing of the capitalist state everywhere and the building everywhere of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Roots and a host of other programs are designed to "cloud our minds so we cannot see this task." Only a communist-led workers movement can defeat the move to fascism, with all its horrors and evils for the many, and profit and privileges for the few. Liberal Fascism (Franklin Delano Hitler or Andrew Carter) is the putting edge of modern fascism and because it seems to look so different from the old ugly nasty fascism, many of us in the party cannot see it, become fooled by boogie media, and fall into all kinds of rightwing deviations (like the Camp Pendleton 14 Committee) CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

DEMISTIFY, CLARIFY, SOLIDIFY THE WORKING CLASS: CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS is the KEY!

These are some of our experiences doing work in the bosses' armed forces in the Seattle area. It will cover two periods: from the fall of '72' to the end of '73' and the last two months. The lesson that shines throughout all this work is that the party's line of "Revolution-not-Reform" outlines the only way this military work can be done successfully.

First Period

This period was marked by sharp struggle against the brass and even sharper struggle within the party and our base over a "working class revolutionary line vs. a compromise-with-the-bourgeoisie line".

We built a VVAW (Vietnam Veterans against the War) chapter at Ft. Lewis around the party's line against racism, with debate about the revolutionary socialist conclusions of that line. VVAW at Ft. Lewis stood for multi-racial unity; a class line on racism; opposition to nationalism; leadership from the working class, particularly minority working class forces in the army (there were still a number of students in the armed forces at that time) and aspects of our present line against coming war and fascism, which wasn't spelled out so clearly within the party at that time. An analogy can be made to present-day CAR chapters. The party organized "C-D" networks; study groups; got VVAW to endorse May Day, bringing 20-25 soldiers to May Day in Seattle, and recruited (some of whom have become leading comrades).

accompanied

Every advance we made during this period was accompanied by sharp internal struggle within our party, VVAW, and other groups and individuals galvanized around our line. The following are some of the struggles over "the line" that occurred during this period. It was the victory of the left line in each of these that allowed us to do what little revolutionary work we did and the incompleteness of those victories which held (and hold) us back.

** Immediately upon arriving at Ft. Lewis, our comrade joined a group led by revisionists to see if any good forces there good bawon to the ^{side of} working class. He was almost immediately kicked out when it was learned he was a member of FLP. The excuse was that he was "using" the group (re: winning the GIs there to revolution). This did not happen, however, without a fight. When the final vote was taken, not one GI spoke ^{or voted} against the party, some spoke against anti-communism and some of these eventually joined the party-led VVAW chapter. The revisionists outnumbered the left only because they brought a lot of their members from Seattle to that meeting.

**Next, the party organized a VVAW chapter on the basis of fighting the UCMJ, Article 15's, harrassment and a little around freeing Billy Dean Smith(a Black GI accused of fragging an officer). This chapter was small, somewhat active and mostly white. (38)

The second milestone was reached when we had a sharp struggle to make the multi-racial fight against racism the key transitional strategy for military work. We lost some petty-bourgeois forces within VVAW and strained relations with a coffee house we had an alliance with, but gained "some of the most militant, serious fighters, black, Latin and white". The chapter grew to become (and this is no exageration) the main worry of the Ft. Lewis brass.

**Early in our work a black leader of VVAW raised that he was thinking of starting a black group on base. We raised, at that time, that we thought a multi-racial group was better, and our anti-nationalist line. There was also a discussion about the revisionist CP'er Angela Davis with this guy. He was soon to give a stirring speech for multi-racial unity at a West Coast SDS conference as well as join our party. Imagine the foolishness if we were to pander to nationalism (as , for instance, this coffee house wanted us to do).

**The next struggle developed over party-building. The left never fully won on this question , but did make some headway. A number of GIs were recruited; 50 subs were sold; "C-D's" were sold to hundreds of GIs and study groups organized. At that time, Comrade Jim Dann, to his credit, always emphasized that the main weakness at Ft. Lewis was insufficient party-building, not "sectarianism" as he now says.

**Finally, some comrades and friends were put on trial for distributing anti-racist literature. We constantly emphasized that the key aspect of our campaign around this trial was to "put the brass on trial", build the party and VVAW. "Advance under Attack" was the slogan. This line, ironically, was advanced by Jim.

A hundred GIs came to the trial, disrupted the proceedings, fought and won the right to be at the proceedings, gave public testimony about racism in the

military and raised \$200-\$250. At the trial itself, GI's were openly reading (39) and circulating PLP literature in defiance of all the brasses' laws. Our biggest weakness during this campaign was that we failed to make communism, as the only way to smash racism, the major issue on base as was certainly possible at that time. So much as we did succeed, we made communism the issue among scores and possibly hundreds of soldiers.

One right-wing idea we had to defeat during the trial (which was proposed by petty-bourgeoisie forces around) was the idea of setting up a "defense committee" based on the "lowest common denominator". At that time, this meant submerging the party, the party's line on racism, VVAW and focusing on harassment with a meaningless, at best, and a nationalisticly-interpeted, at worst, slogan against racism ²tagged on.

The Present Period

Comrades from Seattle went down to the Apts. surrounding FT. Lewis upon hearing of the courageous acts of the Pendleton Anti-Racist marines. We sold "Challenge", made contacts and investigated the situation at the base.

We found the political situation to be almost identical to that of the period from '72' to '73' minus, of course, the all-important party presence. Soldiers were pissed off; forced into the armed forces by unemployment or hood-winked by lying recruiters; without any money and starving for revolutionary ideas. Neighborhoods were integrated as were soldiers' friendships.

With this analysis of the objective conditions and bearing in mind the weaknesses of our past work in the military, we proposed building CAR chapters in the military and emphasized the importance of party work "at the forts" at what we believe was the first West Coast meeting on the Pendleton issue. We later sent down an ex-marine to Oceanside. This comrade came prepared with a plan for party and CAR building (including "C-D" networks, fractions, study groups, etc.) based on our past experiences. All this was basically rejected and he was told he was too "sectarian".

We started our military work in Seattle, in earnest, when he returned. We concentrated on one apartment building; distributing CAR literature and got 13 signatures on the "Free the Pendleton 14" petition. A week later, 2 GIs and their families attended a CAR-led Pendleton Defense Committee meeting. An open party person spoke at that meeting. It turns out that

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one of these GIs and his wife had read "The Communist Manifesto". They commented, (40) after hearing the party speaker, that they liked everything said in the "Manifesto", but thought it couldn't work in practice.

What an opportunity this opened for discussion and struggle! They have now read RRIII, March on May Day, Turn the Guns Around and Smash Apartheid. In a meeting with party comrades, they wrote and since circulated for comment, the enclosed CAR petition "to active armed forces personnel, Vets and those thinking of enlisting." 70% of the ideas in this petition came from them(undoubtedly, influenced by reading "Challenge"). They and others circulate CAR and some party lit. (illegally) all over the base. A party study group is being formed. May Day tickets have been sold.

A CAR meeting, organized by soldiers on base, is set to discuss the Pendleton issue, show the film "Last Grave at Dimbaza", and hopefully endorse May Day. This type of organization is the only kind that is in real solidarity with the Pendleton marines, for it is in solidarity with their fight against this racist, capitalist system--a system which daily moves towards war and fascism. The brass and the bosses will always try to separate "Freedom for the Pendleton 14" from their system that made this demand necessary. We must not fall for that line.

Soldiers face the horrible fate of dying in a bosses' imperialist war. They are starving for revolutionary ideas. A mere spoonful will only increase their hunger. Comrades, we must give these soldiers a full meal. Hiding the party, CAR, May Day and the Fight for Socialism will just not do.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM (INCAR) PETITION FOR ACTIVE ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL; VETS IN THE RESERVE; AND THOSE THINKING OF ENLISTING. (41)

I joined (am thinking of joining) the armed forces because of:

- (A) economic reasons (trade, school, job);
- (B) fear of the draft;
- (C) lies of the recruiter (the recruiter doesn't tell you the whole story - for instance - the harassment and racism in the armed forces).

I did not join (will not join) to fight a racist war (like in South Africa). I did not join (will not join) to fight my fellow workers in ghetto rebellions. Ghetto rebellions are fights against rotten living conditions and lack of jobs - the very reasons I joined (will join) the armed forces. South African rebels are fighting against these same conditions.

I took an oath to defend "freedom and democracy". Racist apartheid is not my idea of "freedom and democracy". Killing minority workers in the ghettos is not my idea of "freedom and democracy". The Vietnam war was a war to protect the fascist Thieu gov't. How come Pres. Carter's list of countries where human rights are denied doesn't include places like South Africa and South Korea?

How about freedom for the Pendleton 14? How about freedom for the so-called "illegal" aliens - mainly, hard working farmworkers? How come the gov't allows this to continue?

How come the Marine brass defends the KKK - a violently racist, anti-union, anti-worker group? After all, the brass took the same oath to defend "freedom and democracy".

In conclusion, I feel that the "freedom and democracy" mentioned in my oath means freedom and democracy for the rich racists and dictatorship over the poor and working people.

We, the undersigned, of all races, know we must oppose racism and change this condition before it is too late.

Name

Address

Phone

Social Security No.

- 1)
 - 2)
 - 3)
- Military Personnel: This is your personal property and cannot legally be taken from you. DOD Directive 1325.6 says, "The mere possession of unauthorized literature may not be prohibited".

ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

(42)

Recent developments on the West Coast seriously call into question major aspects of the party's line. They also raise the issue of democratic centralism, what it is, and how it operates. This report will attempt to deal briefly with some of the ideas put forth by a number of Bay Area comrades about specific applications of democratic-centralism. The report will also try to clarify the general theory of revolutionary party organization.

Many of the letters written by the Bay Area comrades for the present bulletin assert that there is a lack of clarity in the party's line on such important issues as united front work, CAR-building, participation in organizations heavily influenced by enemy forces, etc. The letters put forth the slogan of allowing two lines to be applied on these questions, debating the issue for a year, and then calling a party convention to decide which line works best in practice.

Aside from the impossibility of operating in this manner under any circumstances in a democratic-centralist organization (a question which will be touched upon below), the Bay Area comrades commit major errors of fact. To state that our party has no line on the UF, on CAR, on unity with the class enemy, or on how to evaluate the success or failure of a struggle is to ignore the history of the PLP for the last 9 or 10 years. The party has a clear line on every one of these questions, a line that is continually enriched and developed, but nonetheless a line that has moved in the same general direction for a considerable period of time. Let's review some of our history:

- In the course of ^{in theory} the struggle around Road to Revolution III, the party broke sharply with nationalism, revisionism and every form of all-class unity. We said that given the material conditions of class struggle, the only yardstick that could accurately measure revolutionary growth was the development of the M-L party and the spread of communist ideology (ie, dictatorship of the proletariat) among the masses. We attempted to apply the laws of development to this analysis, by returning to the theoretical source of Marxism-Leninism while at the same time rejecting major right-wing errors.

We continue to make many serious right-wing errors-- particularly in our practice-- but these errors are precisely deviations from a general line that has been established, at least in outline, for nearly a decade. Reform and Revolution represents an advance over RRIII in the sense that we now understand that in the main we have not carried out the essence of the line of RRIII and that fundamental changes are needed to reverse this. A key feature of the self-criticism issued by the NC at the time of R&R was that it had given reformist leadership-- leadership that violated the party's stated line of making socialist consciousness primary.

When the national committee criticizes the Camp Pendleton campaign because the party does not make the d. of the p. primary in it (and when there is a mountain of evidence to indicate this) the Bay Area comrades don't have much of an argument if they contend that the party hasn't got the line that putting forth revolution and winning people to it is the main task in the struggle. Since when do we need debate and consultation over whether or not to raise the banners of the PLP in united front marches? Since

when it is "racist" to call for socialism openly? Some of the comrades who wrote the letters included in this bulletin should review the recent history of our Party's development in the Bay Area. A lengthy and valuable self-critical report was issued by Jim and Hari to the NC at the time of the SF City Workers strike. In essence, the report made the same self-criticism that the NC later issued about the Pendleton campaign: the main error committed by the party was right-wing opportunism, weak party-building and faction-building, C-D sales, etc. Presumably, the comrades who now want extensive "debate" agreed with this self-criticism at that time. What's the difference, except that subjectively they don't agree with the same line any longer?

• The same general points can be made about the question of the United Front. RRIII spells out whom we unite with and whom we attack. This line has been refined and developed in the last decade and, presumably, the NC report in the present bulletin can carry it a step further, but the fact remains that for a long time the party has had a general approach to this question, including:

- UF from below
- No unity with the class enemy
- UF as unity and conflict of opposites (ie., struggle with/against)
- Openly putting forth independent M-L ideas and the PLP
- The left leads the UF.

Here again, R&R carries RRIII a step further by stating that the bottom line for all our UF work must be the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology among the masses and the growth of the PLP based on this *development*. We have a line on the relevance of racism to the dangers of war and fascism. We have a line on fighting racism as a form of super-exploitation and therefore the enemy of the entire working class. We have a line on the impossibility of smashing racism under capitalism. Andy Young, Carleton Goodlett, Jimmy Carter, Gus Hall, and Cesar Chavez will all sing "End Racism" until hell freezes over. Since when is it racist for communists to expose the demagoguery of these forces, the strategy of the ruling class, and the need for workers to smash the bosses' government? The PLP has a line stating that all these things are true. It also has a line that calls upon its leaders and members to carry them out.

As far as the question of uniting with right-wingers and open capitalist forces is concerned, a recent C-D editorial correctly spelled out the reasons for not doing this. It should be added here that we also have a line on this question. History and our own practice demonstrated that the Vietnamese revisionists were wrong to accept, and then become dependent upon, Soviet "aid." When we put forth this line in the mass movement, many forces criticized us in the same terms as comrade HH. Nonetheless, we stuck to our guns and events proved this line to be correct. Was the line valid only for Vietnam? Is it somehow wrong to take guns from the Soviet social-fascists but all right to take \$\$ from a nationalist banker in SF? Our line says: rely on the masses and on the laws of class struggle. This line did not fall from the sky at the January NC meeting.

• As far as CAR is concerned, we are urged that if ...some areas want to pursue the NC line on centering the (Pendleton) campaign around the line of CAR, then we (should) have an experiment in real life as to which type of approach is best to build the party. "Let's examine this position on its own merits."

(We can have only one line on everything.)

In the first place, as everyone in the party knows by now, the January NC rejected this approach. With the exception of Kitty and Hari, the rejection was unanimous. Hari agreed to abide by the decision. The PLP is not the Democratic Party. It is not a debating society. It is not an organization that tolerates purposeful deviation from a line that has been set. Hari and Kitty didn't agree with the line as it had been collectively set, in this case, to make CAR the primary organization for carrying out the party's minimum program on racism and to organize shop fractions around the party's overall line in connection with the Pendleton campaign. So be it. No one always agrees with all decisions. The question becomes: what does a party leader do in such an instance? Submerge the disagreement and fight for the line regardless, or carry out the line he/she happens to agree with in spite of the decision? The party's line in this specific instance was to go back and build CAR and fractions. If Hari and other comrades still thought this was wrong, should they have done it anyway? The answer is YES, YES, ten thousand times YES. Democratic-Centrism can't work only when you happen to think a specific decision is correct. It either works all the time or it doesn't work at all. Failure to grasp this point is a key error made by many letters from the Bay Area printed in this bulletin. After the struggle over line has taken place, after the line has been decided, after the organizational decisions relative to it have been made, the time for reviewing the decision, debating it, going home and raising it for "question," bombarding the NSC with documents in opposition to it, etc. etc. is OVER. The only thing to do is carry out the line.

In the second place, the line to build CAR is not "new" either. Here again, let's look at our recent history. Seven or eight years ago, the party made the estimate that it must play a vanguard role in putting the working class on the offensive against a new barrage of racism. With many weaknesses, we succeeded in introducing this question somewhat into the mass movement. We found that many workers and others could be won to elements of an advanced position on racism.

Marxist-Leninist

Because of this understanding, we and others helped start the Committee Against Racism. As we all know, the first national CAR conference took place in NYC 3½ years ago and proved to be a spectacular success. As a result of this work, the party made several decisions:

- to make CAR-building a major thrust of its work;
- to broaden the fight against Jensenism, et al., out and concentrate on racism in practice;
- to work within CAR so as to stimulate the growth of CAR off-campus, i.e. in industry and in the community, while at the same time continuing to fight racism on campus.

Two contradictory developments followed these decisions. On the one hand, many, if not most, party leaders and members vacillated greatly both on CAR and on anti-racism in general. Many comrades decided that CAR "couldn't be built." Others said they didn't "see how racism hurt them." Others said they "couldn't build CAR and the union (or whatever) at the same time." The party leadership in general, and members of the NSC in particular, were guilty of major right-wing errors in the face of these developments. We became fatalistic when

confronted with these objections and in many cases drew the same about party comrades that the comrades had drawn about the masses: that the line couldn't be carried out.

Nonetheless, despite this weakness, the line was partially carried out on numerous occasions. Each example (the initial response of doctors, nurses, and hospital workers to Health CAR, the success of CAR-building in Minnesota, the response in Boston and nationally to the 1975 Summer Project, the recent growth of CAR membership from 200 to over 700, etc.) PROVED THAT THE LINE WAS CORRECT AND THAT ALL THE DEVIATION AND VACILLATION (from leaders and others) ABOUT CARRYING IT OUT WAS DEAD WRONG. Large numbers of people have already shown that they are winnable right now to CAR's program of fighting racism on a class basis. Many, many more can be won in the future-- IF we carry out our line on this question. The possibilities for party-building are obviously wide-open.

The triple error by some of the Bay Area comrades (a. opportunism in line, b. refusing to carry out specific NC decisions, c. failing to put into practice the essence of the general line on racism) should not be cause for finger-pointing or smug name-calling. The fact is that we have all vacillated to varying degrees on the fundamental principle of carrying out the party's vanguard and independent lines on the fight against racism.

To dramatize this point, let's speculate on what the internal and external situation would be if we had moved vigorously and in a united way to: consolidate CAR work immediately after the Nov. '73 convention; organize CAR in the hospitals when it was originally proposed three years ago; develop CAR as a mass organization on the campuses so that we could have organized a broad spectrum of forces to come to Boston in 1975; recruit to CAR the hundreds who nonetheless came around it as a result of Boston '75; build CAR in this manner in California so that when the issue of the KKK arose, an already-thriving CAR organization could have jumped into the struggle and exercised leadership in its own name and around its own line.

Since the specific matter at issue here is CAR and the proposal to have "two lines" on it, it is necessary to make these points. It goes without saying that exactly the same points are valid concerning the development of PLP fractions at industrial concentrations.

At the January NC meeting, the point was made that too often, we tend to fall into the ~~the~~ trap of self-fulfilling prophecies. The line is set; we don't carry it out; nothing much happens; and we conclude ~~that~~ the line is therefore "wrong." This is hardly a scientific, Marxist approach. If you want to test a line, you must evaluate it in practice. The practice must be united in that we all do the same thing. Otherwise, there is nothing to evaluate. It was this method of analyzing the history of class struggle and our own political practice that led our party to reject the line of so-called revolutionary nationalism.

We know from history and from recent experience that CAR can be built, organizationally and politically, among large numbers of people and particularly among workers. Either this is the case or else the comrades and others who are doing it now are endowed with some supernatural gift. Pretending that reality

is something other than what it is won't get us anywhere. Neither will an attempt to blame our own political shortcomings on the line. (46)

Does all of the above mean that disagreement, debate, and inner-party struggle are a bad thing? Of course not. Our party has always taken the position that the internal struggle over politics and ideology is the nerve-center of our ability to develop as a revolutionary organization. These are not empty words: history proves that they are accurate. Before every major decision on line and every major party event, the NSC has organized and encouraged this kind of exchange:

-- at least six months of formalized internal discussion and several lengthy internal bulletins with many points of view preceded the publication of RRIII;

-- roughly 17 internal bulletins with contributions from hundreds of party members and friends were published before the last PLP convention;

-- the decision to drop WAM in favor of party fractions was not formalized until provisions had been made to discuss it with virtually every comrade doing WAM work in the entire party;

-- the initial NC ~~internal meeting~~ on Reform and Revolution set a three-month discussion period as the pre-condition for publicly issuing the article that appeared in C-D in Nov. 1976. The writer of the present report argued-- incorrectly-- that the line be issued publicly right after the meeting.

-- the question of whether or not to make a serious commitment to CAR has been discussed not once but several times at NC meetings;

-- C-D originally presented the discussion of Roots as a debate. Since the issue was obviously somewhat controversial, the party leadership and the C-D staff wanted to stimulate discussion on this important and topical question.

The fact is that as a matter of principle, the party wants internal struggle over ideas and line to take place. However, as we know from the laws of development, all processes have their limits, and the time therefore arrives when you either fish or cut bait. All the debate and discussion that does take place has to lead somewhere. It has to become transformed into its opposite: different points of view that get thrown into the collective hopper have to become welded into one line that we all carry out. This is absolutely basic to democratic-centralism. It is a concept that some of the comrades from the Bay Area reject in theory and that most of us reject, to varying degrees, in practice.

Let's call things by their proper names. If we don't agree with the UF line as outlined in RRIII and R&R, if we think that broad coalitions including nationalists and ruling class agents are better than fighting racism with CAR and a class line, if we don't want to do what has to be done to build party fractions on the job, if we want to divert the party from building a base for its line in the industrial working class, that is one thing. But we should have absolute clarity on what it means. It means that we

do not want to carry out the line of the party. It does not mean that the line of the party is unclear, or that it has never been discussed, or that we need another year of wrangling with each other and 56 more internal bulletins to figure out what it is, or that we can all do whatever we want in the meanwhile. Facts are stubborn things. They will not disappear to suit our individual whims.

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It may be of some use to summarize the basic principles of ^(democratic) centralism as formulated by Lenin (in One Step Forward, Two Steps Back) and as adopted by our party.

1) The working class needs a party of professional revolutionaries. A professional revolutionary views the working class, the party, and socialism as the main things in life. This does not mean that home, family, friends, work, etc. are unimportant or that they should not be treated as serious responsibilities. It does mean that they are secondary to the party and the fight for socialism. It does mean that one's individual ideas, preferences, pleasures, conveniences, and needs must be subordinated to the needs of the party. Obviously, we all have a long way to go on this score, but this is nonetheless the goal we should be striving to attain.

2) The party must have a system of organization, leadership, and discipline. Every party member and leader must belong to an assigned party collective. Every collective is accountable for carrying out the line of the party.

- Decisions of higher bodies are binding on lower bodies. A lower body may appeal decisions, but the appeal should always take into account the importance of the issue and its relevance to the party's main line of work.

- After decisions have been reached, the job of the entire party is to put them into practice. The minority must subordinate itself to the majority. This discipline is binding on every party member, and the leadership must set an example in carrying it out without question. (After the January NC, the former NC leaders should have returned to SF, raised the criticisms of the national committee, laid the groundwork for organizing on-the-job fractions, and moved to help CAR spearhead the Pendleton campaign. This would have been correct revolutionary procedure. ^{It would have} set the tone for many of the comrades who still feel the line needs further discussion.)

- Differences, when they occur, must never be taken outside the party. They must always be taken upward to the appropriate leadership collective. (If we are working in a united front and the party press raises points about what we should or should not do in the UF as editorial comments, we undermine the whole concept of democratic-centralism if we tell our base in the UF that the editorial is wrong.)

- Factionalism-- consciously organizing against the party line after it has been settled upon or consciously attempting to undermine the party leadership-- is intolerable and by itself constitutes grounds for expulsion.

These features of democratic-centralism are not arbitrary rules. On the contrary, they are the necessary conditions for the party's ability to advance and to grow. All forward motion proceeds on this basis. The alternative is anarchy and regression. We are taking on an enemy of proven ruthlessness, superior means, and vast organizational ^{advantages} over us. We have two important things going for us: the working class

and its objective aspirations and our own internal unity. This unity alone enables the party to carry out a political offensive under all circumstances, to maximize opportunities for advancement and to minimize losses when retreat is necessary. If we proceed on the basis of "two lines," doing our own thing, calling for more debate instead of carrying out the line, we will never amount to anything, and we will inevitably crumble in the face of any serious enemy attack. On the other hand, we have already seen numerous occasions when leaders and comrades have carried out the line and the party has shot ahead in spite of apparently overwhelming odds (May Day in Boston, the struggle of the Texas farmworkers, calling for no negotiations in Vietnam, attempting to give leadership to the Harlem rebellion, etc).

In each of these cases and in many others, the absolutely decisive factor is uncompromising action by the leadership to carry out the line collectively established by the party.

The internal is primary over the external; party unity is primary over individual differences; centralism is primary over inner-party democracy.

3) The key to the party's ability to provide leadership is its base. In the last analysis, history is made by millions of people, not by a handful of chosen individuals. Objective reality is determined by the working class. (thoughts.)

To one extent or another, we are all shackled with elements of our bourgeois training. We still equate democracy with our individual desires or subjective. Too many of us still view as primary "my" ideas, "my" friends, "my" family, "my" disagreements, "my" feelings, etc. Too many of us still believe, deep down, that reality is determined by what goes on inside our heads.

Building a base for the party's line in the industrial working class requires that we overcome precisely this individualism. What do workers need: Marxism-Leninism and the party line or a social club with a different line for every member?

Who is more objective and who really puts the concept of proletarian democracy into practice: the comrade who balks at carrying out the line or the comrades and leaders who fight to build on-the-job fractions, who raise the party banners in the mass movement, who build May Day, and who recruit to PLP around the ideas of R & R, smashing imperialist war and fascism, etc.? The comrade who has no base and the leader who does not fight for the line represent only themselves. The comrade who builds a base and the leader who fights for the line represent the entire party, a specific detachment of the working class, the aspirations of workers all over the world, and the history of the international communist movement.

If we do not build a base for the line among workers, then all attempts to analyze reality must tumble into mysticism. Forward motion in politics depends upon the working class. The working class depends upon its party. Either party leaders and members fight to carry the line to the working class or else we pack it in. In all the

documents from the Bay Area that oppose the NSC and the line, there is not one example given of carrying out the party line on the Pendleton campaign among workers. Fraction-building around the country is still weak or non-existent. Here again, the right-wing trend is not a mystery: we can trace it directly to our collective hesitancy to build a base for our line in the industrial working class.

4) Regular criticism-self-criticism are necessary for the party to evaluate its line and practice. Since the real world is primary over our understanding of it, no line can ever be perfect. However, the best way to detect the errors in our line is to carry it out and evaluate our practice.

--Criticism should be given and received constructively and objectively. It should take into account the main and secondary aspects of a comrade's or leader's work.

--Criticism must conform to the laws of development. It must be turned into its opposite: the weakness must be corrected in practice. If we aren't building fractions for the line, if we can do better in building CAR, merely stating the case isn't enough. There must be CHANGE. Obviously, the leadership of the party and NC members in particular must set an example in this regard.

Democratic-centralism, like everything else in life, is a contradiction, the unity and conflict of two opposites. It is the contradiction that enables the party to immerse itself in the working class, to build unity out of disunity, order out of chaos, and strength out of weakness. By carrying out the line and putting D-C into practice-- and only by doing these things-- can a small, seemingly weak party lead millions in the armed struggle for state power. As Lenin wrote over 70 years ago:

"In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no weapon other than organization. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labor for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' by utter destitution, savagery, and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class."

--One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.

One party. One line. One goal. No force in the world can withstand the power of a united working class, operating under the leadership of a party that applies Marxism-Leninism with absolute single-mindedness of purpose. We have a long way to go before we put ourselves over the top, but we can do it. If we carry out the line and rely on the working class, we will do it.

Stopping Fascism- How Should We View The Dimitrov Program? (50)

PL's job as a revolutionary communist party is to lead the working class to socialist revolution. That end is the best way to fight the threat of war, fascism, as well as the continuous stream of racist cutbacks, layoffs, etc. In RRIII we said that winning the working class to socialism was keyⁱⁿ making and holding on to revolution. Most recently, our line has been strengthened by discussion on the relationship of reform and revolution.

Our party's line has developed in the course of putting forward our ideas in the working class-in struggle-and evaluating the results. It has also developed by the actions of other communists throughout the world. We owe much to the red guard movement in China and our comrades elsewhere. We raise the red flag of socialist revolution as the the rightful heirs of the international communist movement. It is in this light that we should evaluate the Dimitrov program and should criticize the J. Spartacus article in the 3/8/77 internal bulletin.

The Spartacus article is an example of the right wing attack on the party's line. S. states that the article in PL mag entitled- "stopping Fascism; allies vs. comrades is generally good. "The view point and the main tone are undeniably correct." S reverses field and quickly becomes a defender of Dimitrov and the program of the 7th world congress, *however*.

PL has, in attempting seek the ideological roots of modern revisionism, viewed the dimitrov program as a codification of the right wing errors that existed in the world communist movement prior to the 7th world congress. It was the moment when a qualitative leap was made- in the wrong direction. That is not to say that all the activities before or for that matter after were all good or bad. It is to say that the line of the world communist movement was qualitatively stronger before the 1937 conference.

S criticises the PL mag article for calling Dimitrov's program a muddle, for faulting Dimitrov for using the term Soviet Democracy instead of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and for the summary criticism of the dimitrov program; 1) the implication that fascism or democracy are equally logical governmental forms for modern capitalism, 2) defense of of liberal democracy, 3) the implication that an anti-fascist gov't based on the united front was as viable as socialism as an alternative to fascism, 4) and the implication that revisionist social democrats as well as communists could lead the battle against fascism. J. Spartacus never refers us to the Dimitrov program in order to dispute PL's line. Instead, Dimitrov's heroic actions in fighting the Nazis are cited, the names of other leaders of the international are invoked, and finally the danger of fascism is cited. S does well in not referring to the original document; for it would not help his/her argument.

For example, Dimitrov on page 42 calls for "the widest possible strata ~~bbb~~ of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists "... and calls for " taking advantage of the (contradictions which exist in the

camp of the bourgeoisie itself." The seizure of power? What happened to the theory of class dictatorship? Are we to appeal to the good bourgeoisie? On p 59 Dimitrov calls for , not only " joint action by both internationals" , but on "the ranks of the Catholic, Anarchist, and unorganized workers, even upon those who have temporarily become victims of fascist demogogy." Add that to p 61 " 'Social-Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists,' say some of the Social-Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal now." A communist party disavows the d of p?

Clearly the PL article did not attempt to discredit Dimitrov personally. It is a political attack on the line of the 7 th world congress. The point is that Dimitrov, Stalin, and other leaders did know better than to follow this line. They had the experience of the menshevik role in the October revolution, the S*D party's role in Germany during the 1919 uprising , and countless other lessons. As late as 1935 R Palme Dutt, British Communist leader, had proclaimed, "Fascism can be fought. Fascism can be fought and defeated. But Fascism can only be fought and defeated if it is fought without illusions and with clear understanding of the issues. The causes of Fascism lie deep-rooted in existing society. Capitalism in its decay breeds Fascism. Capitalist democracy in decay breeds Fascism. The only final guarantee against Fascism, the only final wiping out of the causes of Fascism, is the victory of the proletarian dictatorship." p 17 in Fascism and Social Revolution.

Rather than buying time or postponing the storm of the 1930s, the United Front against Fascism Program has sharpened the worldwide threat of war and fascism. This is true because of the reversal of socialism in the S.U., China, and the general weakening of the international movement ideologically.

PL can help reverse the process codified in the 1937 program by continuing our examination of the roots of revisionism, bringing our ideology to the working class and its mass movements, sharpening the class struggle, and by building the party into the kind of weapon that can seize state power. Fight the right wing drift-recruit and put communist politics in command.

During WW II millions of workers fought under the flags of socialist leadership. They bravely fought against fascism. That fight was weakened by the right wing line that existed in the international communist movement. We should hail their heroic efforts in defeating Hitler, however, it would be criminal for us to repeat the errors they made in doing so. Only two roads are open to us. One is that of socialist revolution. The other is war and fascism.

Comradely,
NPW member

Some Comments on Imperialism and War (52)

In the current debate inside the Party about the international situation, pages and pages of statistics have been quoted without much discussion of the significance of those statistics. Jim Dann's letter to Mort Scheer (in the last internal) was a definite improvement; Dann directly addressed the political questions, "how does imperialism work?", "is the USSR a major imperialist power?", "is there danger of war between the US and the USSR?" Dann unfortunately gives very weak answers to these questions.

When Dann discusses imperialism, he talks mostly about the loans made by the imperialist powers (for example, he says that since the USSR owes the Western bankers \$15 billion, the USSR is very weak). Imperialism is more than loans; imperialism is the export of capital. "Capital" is not just money; capital is a relation between classes (it is the relationship by which the capitalist class exploits the working class). The power of Soviet imperialism consists of the ability of the Soviet bosses to consolidate their hold over the workers of India, Egypt, Angola, Mozambique, etc.

(By the way, "finance capital" is not bank capital. Finance capital is the union of bank and industrial capital. When Lenin writes about the importance of finance capital for imperialism, he is discussing the emergence of monopoly capitalists who combine bank and industrial capital and therefore can dominate the whole economy. The Soviet economy since the "reforms" of the mid-Sixties is dominated by monopolistic "combines", as they are called).

Soviet imperialism is not so weak as Dann describes it. Dann says that Sadat switched sides (from the USSR to the US) because, "The Soviets could only give him weapons while the US could give him weapons as well as food, oil technology, financing, marketing experience, etc." That is quite a statement. Who built the Aswan Dam? Who built the world's largest aluminum plant in Egypt? Who built the massive steel plant at Helwan? Who has provided over \$1 billion in machinery to the Egyptian capitalists (plus billions in loans for military goods)? THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS. What has Sadat gotten since his turn to the West. NOT ONE SINGLE FACTORY (all of the big loans from the West have gone for repaying the debt to the USSR - at a rate of over \$300 million a year - and for importing basic foodstuffs and luxury goods. Even the oil industry has gotten much less than Sadat expected). In other words, the Soviets still dominate the Egyptian economy even though they are no longer political allies with Sadat. Sadat has to keep on paying these debts, because otherwise the USSR will shut off the supply of spare part (the Soviets have kept on supplying spare parts for the Mig jets, quietly). US IMPERIALISM IS TOO WEAK TO REPLACE THE SOVIETS AS QUICKLY AS SADAT HAD HOPED.

It is certainly true that Soviet imperialism is not now as strong economically as U.S. imperialism; the Soviets are, however, gaining over time. In the last few years, there has been little or no net flow of capital out of the U.S., while the Soviets have continue to make massive investments (called "aid" by the Soviet bosses) of well over \$1 billion a year. Furthermore, the Soviet military machine is at least as strong as the U.S. military. What can we conclude from this? THE SOVIETS WILL USE THEIR GREATER MILITARY MIGHT TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR WEAKER ECONOMIC POSITION -- in other words, they will push hard against the U.S. (for example, the Soviets wanted a UN embargo on South Africa, which the Soviets volunteered to enforce with their navy).

Before World War I Germany was weaker economically than Great Britain (Britain had massive investments and a vast empire; Germany only had a few ~~see~~ small colonies and little investment)--- which was all the more reason for Germany to increase its military and go to war. (Germany also had borrowed much from British banks in order to import advanced technology from the U.S. and Britain). By force of arms, the Germans expected to open the road to economic expansion.

Dann makes no reference to the economic crisis in the U.S. The U.S. economy has been hard hit in recent years -- manufacturing output has barely returned to the level of 1973. During the Sixties, corporations borrowed massive amounts to finance investment, and the interest payments on this "fictitious capital" became a great burden on new investments. Now they are paying off these debts (technically: improving corporate liquidity, reducing debt/equity ratios). This leaves the capitalists little money to invest in new projects -- plus they are unwilling to invest, because they expect that sales will remain low and the profit rate won't be restored. All this contributes to the decline of U.S. imperialism: few investments abroad, machinery in the U.S. gets older (it falls behind the new technologies installed by its competitors). On the other hand, the Soviet economy is substantially higher than the U.S. rate of growth in nearly every major commodity.

School-Boy Arithmetic and the End of History

Some people know only today's, maybe a few tomorrows, but not next year and the years after. This may be called the "now is forever" theory of history. To prove it, its political supporters often draw their analogies from the tomb of the distant past. These thoughts came to mind after reading the Dann-Dillon article on the relative strengths of the USA and the USSR. The article is impressive. Reams of statistics are always impressive. Moreover, there is every reason to assume that the figures given are quite accurate. Dann-Dillon carefully document their sources. Yet for all that, their "now is forever" view of present-day history, which is the framework for the statistical analysis, leads the article to a completely wrong rating of the two capitalist giants and to a set of suspicious political conclusions.

Today all the numbers add up in favor of the USA, that is, when we add the production and military might of US allies to the account. This is the Dann-Dillon thesis. Tomorrow, the same will surely be true, since the tempo of history is not that swift. But what about next year and the years after? Well the Dann-Dillon article proposes that the US bloc is stable, no historical change in the years to come, on the analogy of the present period to the hundred years between 1815 and 1914. We may expect nothing too different then until 2045. I take 1945 as the starting date for this hundred year rerun of European history after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. If history were in fact that permanent, the simple schoolboy arithmetic of Dann-Dillon might very well add up to an accurate accounting of the two powers with regard to each other.

Not even the Chinese Communist Party, which on occasion has adopted a profound political posture on the next thousand years without embarrassment, is willing to bet on a hundred years of permanence. Chou-En-Lai, speaking for the dominant section of the Party, suggested a fifty-year trade pact with the American ruling class, when China shifted to a policy of conciliation toward the USA. There are two sides to this Chinese suggestion for a long term pact: one is that the Communist Party of China does not expect much from the class struggle for at least half a century, which basically discounts the class struggle altogether; in contrast, the other side of the suggestion gives full weight to the view that the USSR is in a relatively more favorable position in its rivalry with the USA. A Chinese Foreign Ministry official put it this way to William Pafire: in the battle between the two giants, the USA is more afraid of the USSR and the USSR will not attack China until it has defeated the USA. The implication is clear. The overture to the US is

China's way of restoring a balance between the two giants to forestall a Russian victory. The Chinese revisionists fear the paper tiger far less than the Russian bear. (54)

I make this point about the Chinese position because it touches on four basic weaknesses in the Dann-Dillon argument: first, like the Chinese, it discounts entirely the relationship of class struggle to economics and international politics; second, and in this case unlike the Chinese, it bases its argument on economic numbers alone instead of the dynamics of capitalist alliances and rivalries; third, it misunderstands and oversimplifies the meaning and practice of Soviet revisionism at home and abroad; and fourth, it entirely misreads the tactics and strategy of the Chinese ruling class in world affairs.

First, the dynamics of capitalist alliances and rivalries: in light of what the historical evidence of the last 75 years shows us about their nature and the causes of war, Dann-Dillon are politically blind in assuming a long term harmony among the members of the US bloc while agreeing that a hot rivalry exists between the USA and the USSR. The factors that compel the two to be rivals are also present, to one degree or another, for each of the members of the US bloc. Well then what precisely is the reason that the USA and the USSR are rivals? Is it because one is capitalist and the other socialist? This might have been a debatable point seventeen years ago. To their credit, the forces who established the Progressive Labor Party saw the true state of affairs even then. Today, except to the Communist Parties of the world, which stopped being honest about history a long time ago, and a certain breed of anti-communist, the point is no longer debatable. The two nations are rivals because each is a highly advanced capitalist country.

The case is classic. As Lenin made clear in Imperialism, when a capitalist nation has developed its productive powers to a high level, its various contradictions, such as the tendency for its rate of profit to fall in the most massive and developed industries, its need for raw materials, for market places, and for larger masses of cheaper labor to exploit than it can get at home--all these force it, whether it wants to or not, to expand its base of operations to other parts of the globe. In other words, it travels the imperialist road. The contradictions and needs of the advanced capitalist nation never diminish or level off. On the contrary, they keep on growing. As a result, imperialist expansion and/or the pressure for it are continually increasing. This is now and has been the case with the Soviet Union for the last 25 years and for much longer with the USA.

By 1914, there were no longer any significant new markets for imperialism to open up. Since then imperialist expansion has taken the course of redividing the already imperialized markets. Since 1917 the situation has grown even more restricted. The October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution of 1949 removed two huge market chunks from the path of imperialist expansion. This is true even at present, despite the capitalist directions of Russia and China. Neither area is open to any extensive, untrammelled, uncontrolled imperialist activities by other advanced capitalist countries. The markets available for imperialist expansion are, therefore, now more limited than at the beginning of the century and what is available, after a hundred years of globally expanding capitalism, is more intensively imperialized. All this has meant collision after collision of one or another or combination of capitalist powers. These are the factors that make war inevitable, and not in some hundred year future, as long as capitalism exists. They explain why the two super capitalist powers are, of necessity, no matter which is "top dog," on the road to collision in the coming period.

But what about the other capitalist countries? Aren't they or at least some of them caught up in the same contradictions and conflicts? Are the Soviet Union and the USA the only imperialist powers? The only powers whose interests are in conflict with each other? Dann-Dillon answer, particularly with regard to the countries in the US bloc, no. The other capitalists are not, at least, to any significant degree in imperialist contradiction with each other. The power they attribute to the USA as a result of this "no" answer forces them to conclude also that the USA, for a long period to come, is actually the only imperialist of sufficient strength to count at all. Arithmetic without a context of dialectical history is magic indeed. It does away with the real contradictions which have made the twentieth century the most unstable and violent of centuries and it produces a statistical sum that can only be described in Hollywood terms-colossal.

But their own figures and the evidence of the last ten years alone belie their answer. Next to the Soviet Union and the USA, the most advanced capitalist nations, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, belong to the US bloc. They are fullfledged although not equal imperialists, as affirmed by the history of the last 75 years. These are the nations that fought two world wars with each other, Germany in each case on the side opposite to the US, Japan on a different side each time, and Italy the same. In neither war could the major capitalist opponents, the USA and Germany, count fully on every single one of their allies. Japan was of little help to the USA in World War I. It practically sat the war out, helping its own imperialist aims to what it could in the process. Italy proved to be practically worthless in both wars, first to the Allies, then to the Axis. In the last ten years, while allies all together in NATO and the Common Market, they have been engaged in the fiercest economic competition with each other all over the globe and most of all with the USA. I cite only the growing presence of Japan in South America, of Germany in European markets, of the revived fortunes of France in Southeast Asia following the US defeat there, the two US devaluations of recent years (incidentally the dollar is showing signs of deteriorating again) as proof.

Vietnam is another case in point. Adding up columns of figures is a useful schoolboy exercise, but until the columns appear in the battlefield, they ought not to be taken too seriously. What did Germany, Britain, France, Japan, Italy contribute to the US side in the Vietnam War? Not a single soldier; not much, if any, equipment; and not much, if any, economic support. In this instance, they proved to be what they could prove to be again and again, allies on paper, not in practice. As a matter of fact, the leading capitalists of the bloc, Germany, Japan, and France, took as much imperialist advantage as politically possible of the US embroilment in Vietnam. During this period, these three capitalist countries grew in strength vis-a-vis US capitalism, which enabled them to outcompete the USA in many of the markets of the world.

Add up the figures, surely it is dangerous to ignore them, but under no circumstances leave out history by assuming some feature of it has long term permanence. The main feature of the capitalist period is instability, the closer to the present, the more unstable, and the moreso in the case of advanced capitalist relationships. Capitalist alliances are, in fact,

understandable only as a sign of this essential instability. The US bloc may, on the one hand, be directed at counterbalancing the growing might of the USSR. It is, on the other, a means whereby each of these imperialist allies makes sure or tries to make sure that the others do not make inroads on its own imperialist position. No sentiment, no honor, no gratitude, no cause for human betterment governs here. Only contradiction. If another lineup of nations promises to do a better job for one or another of these partners, then so be it. A transfer of allegiance is an easy thing among thieves.

So much for the permanence of the US bloc. What about class struggle? It seems not to exist in the Dann-Dillon article. A short section deals with internal economic conditions and their effect on the working class--the stuff out of which considerable class struggle emerges. But it sweeps the question aside by saying that if the quality of life is on the skids in the US, it is also on the skids in the USSR. Here is another example of the Dann-Dillon school of arithmetic. Class struggle has a zero effect on imperialist alignment, on the comparative strength of the two super powers, and the reliability of allies because the struggle in one nation cancels out the struggle in the other. And what about class struggle in Latin America, Africa, Asia, the rest of Europe? Not many words. Apparently the "zero-effect" principle functions in these areas too. Dann-Dillon may become famous mathematicians for having simplified arithmetic but they cannot expect to become first rate historians, let alone sound Marxists, by discounting the class struggle.

As a beginning let's take the effect of class struggle on the military contribution of US allies in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Dann-Dillon add the military forces of the allies in these areas to the forces of the US and the other advanced capitalist nations in the bloc to come up with a figure of 7 million army men, a force approximately 50% greater than the USSR and its allies. They admit that it would be unwise to count on every last one of the US bloc at any given time and cite specifically two unreliaables, Portugal and Greece.

But what about Brazil, Argentina, Turkey, South Korea, Pakistan, Thailand and so on, which Dann-Dillon call medium military powers? Can these be counted on at all, no matter what the given time? Past experience provides us with an **answer**. In World War II, Argentina was legally a neutral but leaned toward the axis. Aside from a place of asylum, it provided them with precious little support. In World War II, Brazil was a US ally. It declared war on the axis. It provided the US with next to nothing in the way of soldiers. The same is true for every single Latin-American country allied with the US in World War II. Is there any reason to believe they would behave otherwise today? Not at all. These countries are caldrons of class struggle. The ruling class of Argentina, where war among the classes is an every day affair, could not spare one soldier, one policemen for the US without endangering its own political power. The same is true for Chile. There the fascist repression is so embracing and intensive that the struggle of the working class does not have a public form. But the Chilean ruling class needs every last one of its storm troopers to keep the working class from seizing power. No, the class struggle dictates that Latin America will send no troops into

the battlefield for the US.

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The same goes for Africa and Asia. What can one expect from Pakistan, where strikes and demonstrations, often violent, over recent election results have created chaos? From Thailand, where guerilla forces have operated for years and are growing in numbers? From Zaire, where insurgent Kantangans are now in the field? Even South Africa, the economically and militarily strongest capitalist class outside Europe cannot spare a single squad for the US because of the class struggle there, one which is intensifying month by month. Not a single country outside of Europe can afford to field even a minor force for the US because of the various class struggles around the world. South Korea is sufficient proof. Its own army and police force, which are quite substantial in numbers, has shown more than once their inability, without massive aid from the US, to keep the ruling class in power. It is strange arithmetic to add them to US strength. They and all the other "medium military powers" are, on the contrary, a drain on the US.

We are left then only with what China, Japan, and the West European capitalists may add to US military strength. Surely the class struggle is at work in these countries also. Spain and Portugal are areas of particularly sharp contentions and will add nothing to US strength. Italy's working class is continually striking and taking to the streets. At the very least, it will tie down a substantial part of the Italian army, itself a very doubtful force. At the very most, it will, especially if war comes, center the struggle on who rules and, thereby, tie down the entire Italian army. Remember each World War of this century accelerated the struggle for who rules among the classes. There is no reason to think that the case will be otherwise, not only in Italy, but in France and even in Japan and West Germany.

The effects of Soviet and Chinese revisionism on class struggle and the relative strength of the different capitalist classes and blocs will be discussed in a moment. Here I want simply to say that it is premature to assume that China and the Communist Parties of West Europe are in the pockets of the US bloc. At any rate 7 million is another one of those colossal numbers. But the class struggle determines that a substantial part of that sum will be deployed elsewhere than on the side of the US.

One other aspect of the class struggle needs to be dealt with. The internal contradictions of US capitalism are economic, political, and international. The bare figures of production and military size tell us nothing about these internal contradictions and, as a consequence, the full meaning of the figures themselves. Capitalism is in the business, not of producing or making war, but of maximizing profit. Mass production and war necessarily follow from that goal, although war quite obviously contributes to it in no insignificant way. As capitalism develops one branch of industry after another, the rate of profit in each begins to fall sooner or later. The reason for this is that technology is the chief way of the means at hand (speedup and the long working day are the others) to put the largest and an ever increasing number of workers to work, to exploit them in other words. It is the chief way to guaran-

tee a large enough production at a low enough unit cost to compete and outcompete other capitalists at home and overseas. However, the amount of capital used for technology, called constant capital (because of itself it produces no surplus value), rises at a much faster pace than the amount of capital used for living labor, the labor-power that produces surplus value, even though more and more of it is employed because of the use of technology. Hence, the rate of profit falls. The falling rate is compounded even more by the contradictions of technology itself. As the already intensively developed industries grow older, their technological base wears out, is made obsolete by newer technology and, whether for the one reason or the other, needs to be replaced. But that demands an even more enormous investment of constant capital. Oil is a perfect example of this turn of events, but so are other industries in the USA.

These are the economic factors that underlie the internal crises of US capitalism. They have made the US less competitive in the world markets than West Germany, France, and Japan, whose technology is newer and whose wage bill per man hour is lower. To become more competitive, it is absolutely essential for US capitalism to replace its obsolete and worn out technology, to increase man-hour productivity, and, if it can, to reduce the wage bill per man hour. But if it pays for the new technology out of its capitalist coffers, it will further depress an already depressed rate of profit. It is not about to do this. Hence, it is now using every political trick, appropriation, and legal maneuver to force that money out of the pockets of the masses of the American people. No matter what the current production figures are, this is the ongoing process both in economics and politics and what is behind the steady deterioration of the quality of life in the USA.

If it were only a matter of statistics, this would hardly be more than academic in interest. But it directly affects the class struggle. Does anyone think that the working class will play dead as the capitalist class burdens it more and more with speedup, tries harder and harder to cut wages (through racism, runaway shops, inflation, forced work programs, inadequate health, educational, and other public services) and saddle it with the enormous bill for constant-capital investment? All other things being equal the working class will resist furiously and openly, as it has in the past. The capitalists know this. That is why they use every means possible to control the struggle: nationalism, racism, liberalism, layoffs and other economic reprisals, cops, alcohol, drugs, the drug of television and other cultural forms. But if it only uses these political and economic strategies to throw the weight of the crises on the working class, the real conditions of the system will make a shambles of them, and the class struggle stands a good chance of erupting in full force. That is why US capitalism needs to prepare for fascism. It is the ultimate way, when capitalist maneuverability is reduced in scope by the realities of the internal and external crises, to put the lid on class struggle. But to put the fascist lid on, US capitalism will have to field a vastly expanded police and armed force, not only for war abroad, but for repression and eternal vigilance against the working class at home.

Whichever way it goes, an open and erupted class struggle or a fascist contained and underground one, the class struggle as it now exists

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or as it will potentially exist in the future means that simple arithmetic applied to production and military strength may add up to an accurate sum in the abstract, but by no stretch of the imagination gives us a real measure of the relative standing of the US-USSR. It doesn't matter whether the same process is at work in the Soviet Union, as it no doubt will be. That doesn't cancel out the effect. Specific historical developments different in each case and the uneven development of capitalism guarantee that. In fact, under certain conditions, the same process at work in the Soviet Union may very well intensify the problems and character of the US bloc.

Toward the end of their article, Dann-Dillon express the worry that a failure to recognize the US as "top dog" will cause the downplaying of two things: 1) the exposure of US imperialism and 2) struggle against US capitalism. The history of Progressive Labor Party has hardly been one of downplaying the one or the other. It is curious that Dann-Dillon pay little attention to this distinct danger of war and fascism by the US, generated by the crises discussed above. Isn't this an exposure of American imperialism? What do they want to expose? That the US is super strong! Well it hardly needs Dann-Dillon to undress that already naked fact. Even if they aren't "top dog," they are obviously super strong. No one has argued otherwise. No, what Dann-Dillon want to expose is that the US is not only ahead of the USSR, but so far ahead that there is no contest. In this light, their warning against American exceptionalism seems quite empty. What has that exceptionalism been made up of historically if not that the US is unbeatably ahead of everyone else, that US problems can be overcome without intensifying the class struggle, that the US is so strong that a revolution is not desirable or possible, certainly not in the foreseeable future.

Underestimation of the enemy is a dangerous matter. Overestimation is no less so. In fact overestimation hardly ever stimulates class struggle. In the first place, it falsifies what is actually going on. It leaves no room, therefore, for a realistic plan of consistent action against the enemy. In the second, when it portrays the enemy as unbeatable, it triggers inaction (not to mention cynicism and defeatism). It doesn't make any sense to fight an unbeatable enemy. The Party has recently had its own experience with how the formulation that US capitalism is in total control of everything in bourgeois society deflected members from involvement in class struggle. Fortunately, it didn't take the Party years to discover the problem. The October 21 editorial didn't prevent the Party from discovering the problem. It detected it in short order, two or three months, and has written several editorials pushing for more involvement in class struggle.

A more productive way to struggle against US imperialism is to see clearly how its internal crises have altered its standing in the world, what its strategies are to overcome these crises, and how it is heading toward war and fascism. This way we have very specific class struggles to organize, very specific multi-class rank-and-file struggles against war and fascism to organize, and a very clear picture of why all the class and political struggles must be turned into a civil war against the capitalist class if war and fascism are to be stopped once and for

all. Rather than the super-strength numbers game of Dann-Dillon, which given the kindest interpretation merely repeats what is well known but in fact hides what is actually happening in current history, this kind of exposure informs the working class of the true aims and dangers of US capitalism. It is the path to no end of concrete struggle.

Dann-Dillon show no better understanding of Soviet revisionism and capitalism than of class struggle and the crises of US imperialism. At the end of the article, they express still another worry: the judgement that the USSR is in a stronger imperialist position than the US might "unintentionally prettify Soviet imperialism, making them seem more powerful than they really are, covering up their internal weaknesses and sharpening contradictions." Ah, how refreshing after the pages of statistics and political analysis that studiously ignore US internal weaknesses and sharpening contradictions to hear Dann-Dillon call for something more than schoolboy arithmetic, for something more than "now is forever" history. But they have the whole problem backwards. In the first place, it is they who have engaged in prettifying, not the Soviet Union, but the US. In the second place, with regard to Soviet capitalism the problem is not prettification but caricature. They have caricatured Soviet capitalism and imperialist policies and have used a caricature Marxism to do it. As a consequence, they misunderstand completely the meaning and practice of Soviet revisionism at home and abroad.

Their Marxism is a caricature because they forget that capitalism is in a continual historical development. It is not a single, static model, absolutely the same everywhere. No capitalist nation is precisely at the same stage of productive development. None are at the same point in the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Wide variations occur in many instances, even among advanced capitalist countries. Not all use exactly the same methods of exploitation and repression. Not all develop under the same historical circumstances. None are exceptions to the general development of the typical weaknesses and contradictions of capitalism. But the development of these does not occur at exactly the same pace, in exactly the same manner, along exactly the same line, or at the same level of intensity at one and the same time. Therefore to say that the Soviet Union is capitalist and subject to the Marxist laws of capitalist contradiction is to say a truth and yet not to give a truly living picture of Soviet capitalism.

To capture a living picture, there are certain things to remember. The USSR is a rather recent comer to capitalism. Unlike the other capitalist nations, it began immediately at a somewhat advanced stage of production. It expropriated an already developed socialist economy, which it continued to develop at a high level of concentration throughout the post-war period. More important it did not begin in the spontaneous, individualistic way that capitalism began in every other case.

All other capitalist developments began in the form of individual or family ownership of particular enterprises. The joint-stock ownership of later development did not eliminate this characteristic of traditional capitalism. It transferred it to small conglomerations of capitalists, more or less distinct but nevertheless distinct from other such conglom-

Internal: D-D

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merations, which individually owned or controlled particular enterprises, more or less monopolized but distinct from each other, in the different branches of industry. The later overlappings and alliances of individual conglomerations of capitalist ownership, through finance capital, in cartels, and in multi-national corporations, still retain this characteristic. What we have in them are competitors who collude and colluders who compete. Because of the steady tendency toward monopoly, there may be fewer significant owners and, hence, a less diverse market place anarchy, but on the other hand their collusions and competitions intensify astronomically their contradictions with the working class, with each other, and within their separate business structures. In any given nation and internationally, this historical pattern creates all sorts of political and economic problems for the functioning of the capitalists as a class.

An entirely different set of circumstances prevails in the USSR. The capitalist class which expropriated the working class there is not a coalition of individual or individual conglomerate capitalist owners. Just as the working class owned all of the economy as an entire class, so the capitalist rulers of the USSR own all of the economy as an entire class. What they have done is take a model of socialist ownership and apply it to capitalist ownership. Unlike the capitalists of other countries, who rule as a class but own in various individual forms, the Soviet capitalists rule as a class and own as a class. This is a much unrecognized and unexplored side of revisionism.

Of course, with capitalist production in full swing pressures for individual ownership build up. The amassing of individual fortunes through hoarding and embezzlement, the appearance of the dissident movement, which is no less a right-wing movement than revisionism, become more understandable in this light. But as of now and probably for some years more, the class as a whole runs a tight ship and shows no inclination to fragment its ownership. This model of all-class ownership makes economic development often more lumbering and bureaucratic, but it also eliminates the problems of collusion/competition, two of which are to exert a powerful downward pressure on the rate of profit and to lead to a considerable amount of waste production. As a consequence, the Soviet capitalists are able to slow down the falling rate of profit at present and more easily get their constant-capital investment from the working class. They are also able to do more with a lean economy. Their numbers may not in most commodities match US statistics, but for the most part they get comparatively more mileage from them, item for item and perhaps even for dollar invested.

Another thing to remember is that the Soviet capitalists seized power with relative ease and speed. They did not go through the drawn-out struggles (sometimes lasting more than a century) and periodically rocked by massive and violent civil conflicts which characterized the battle for power of the western capitalists. Compared to these, the terror and repression, sometimes of a fairly extensive kind, that the Soviet capitalists used to silence opposing voices are quite limited.

What made the rapid and easy seizure possible? Revisionism. The revisionist policies of the Soviet Communist Party transformed the leading

cadre in the leading Party centers into a capitalist class and the government/Party apparatus into a tool of capitalism. But these policies did so always in the name of consolidating working class control and as a set of tactics to advance socialism. In the main, the capitalist class of the Soviet Union has successfully used revisionism to keep the Russian working class in its corner. This will not always be the case. As the contradictions of Soviet capitalism grow, class struggle will increase. But what resistance the working class now puts up to certain capitalist developments is basically a striking out for reform within the system, which it still regards as socialist and in which it still has confidence.

To exaggerate the weaknesses and internal contradictions of Soviet capitalism, to exaggerate the character and extent of class struggle in the USSR at this time and for some years to come is to underestimate and misunderstand how dangerous revisionism is. It is a weapon directed at the heart of the working class from inside the working class because it parades as proletarian and socialist ideology. In the US, racism and liberalism are the two main ideological weapons directed against the working class. In the Soviet Union and among mass sections of the oppressed classes in other countries, revisionism is the main danger: its duplicity makes it an acceptable idea to masses of workers and hence a powerful political and military force, but against the working class itself.

If it is a weapon against the working class because of its pretended proletarian and socialist outlook, it is for the same reason a potent weapon against US and other non-Soviet imperialisms. Like the all-class ownership of the Soviet capitalists, this side of revisionism is almost always neglected. Right now, even without a world war, many of the major class struggles and guerrilla forces around the world look to the Soviet Union, hardly the US, for support and sometimes leadership. Furthermore, revisionism, having jettisoned the strategies of Marxism that energize all struggle toward socialist revolution, appeals to a wide range of union, political, and armed resistance: for example, to the liberalism of the Rhodesian guerrillas, the revisionism of the Angolans, and the Katangan wing of fascism in Zaire.

Does anyone imagine after the experiences of World War II and the seething insurgencies, insurrections, and wars which have characterized all the years since that the next worldwide war will not see a tenfold increase in partisan/underground operations where they now exist and in places where they have not yet surfaced? No, they will explode all over the place. And on whose side will they be, for the most part? The USSR? The USA? Since revisionism has operated so successfully until now in its false colors, sound politics answers the USSR. Even if the partisan/guerrilla forces have no interest in supporting one side or another in a war between the US-USSR, the longer history of US and West European capitalism guarantees that they will fight the US and its allies, not the USSR. So whose columns shall we add the guerrillas to? And what number value shall we assign to them? Unfortunately, in contrast to conventional armies, the size of guerrilla forces is not listed in the Almanac of World Military Power. But we all know they operate most successfully because they live in the heart of a supporting population. Guerrillas are everywhere surrounded by friends; conventional armies are everywhere con-

fronted by armed insurrectionists and are everywhere surrounded by a hostile, uncooperative population.

One last point about about Soviet revisionism: its influence on and eventual adoption by the Vietnam Party and the Viet Cong does not mean that Vietnam is about to be turned over to US imperialism. Vietnam will deal with the US. The Soviet Union also does. But if anything, Vietnam revisionism means that the Vietnamese will be turned over to Soviet imperialism. That's the purpose of revisionism. May the same be said for the Communist Parties of France and Italy? What if they have rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat? The Soviet Union hasn't slapped their wrists for it. What if they have rejected revolution? The Soviet capitalist class perfected the notion of peaceful coexistence and the parliamentary road to socialism. What if they have agreed to stay in NATO in the event they are elected to run the government? They know that NATO is not a binding general staff or decision-making body. More important than all their rejections and agreements is that, like the Soviet Union, they offer revisionism as a working class outlook and a set of tactics to achieve a socialist society. Besides which the rejections are already part and parcel of their revisionism, even before they were stated publicly. To think, therefore, that they are now in the pocket of the US is a silly oversimplification. The purpose and net effect of revisionism is to enhance Soviet not US imperialism.

The three sides of revisionism, the side of all-class ownership, the side that mobilizes the working classes against themselves, and the side that mobilizes them against the US will have to be taken into account in judging who is the "top-dog" imperialist. They make simple arithmetic absolutely impossible.

But revisionism also reminds us that a new, terribly effective weapon is now in use to keep the working class the "bottom dog." Still masses of workers see it as a legitimate working-class politics. How then can we destroy it? Only by recruiting masses of people, on sound revolutionary grounds, to Progressive Labor Party. We can do that only if we take part in, generate on our own, and bring communist ideas into the class struggle. That means right here in the United States, not anywhere else. A mass party will not only electrify the class struggle here at home. It will give us the credibility, in theory and practice, to rip away the false colors covering up Soviet revisionism, to win the international working class from this empty attraction to the politics of revolution. It turns out then that the urgency of fighting US imperialism here at home and spreading communist ideas is dictated to us not only by a proper estimate of the US but also by a living picture of the Soviet Union. It turns out at the same time, doesn't it, that the Dann-Dillon caricature prettifies, if anything does, Soviet imperialism. Together with their simple arithmetic, it directs us away from class struggle or to a misconceived struggle. In the process, it leaves communist ideas outside on the doorstep or probably back in the PL office. In their place, it brings into the struggle a set of useless Marxist parodies.

Perhaps the most amazing parody (fantasy to be more precise) is the

addition of the Chinese regular army (2,555,000) and active reserve (5,000,000) to the US bloc. What a naive reading of China's tactics and strategy this is. It is hard to believe that Dann-Dillon are not aware of the simplemindedness of this addition. Suspicion then of their purposes is not unjustified. They seem so willfully willing to use fairy tale to discredit the argument that the USSR is, on the grounds of a dialectical reading of political-economy, more favorably placed now and will be increasingly so for the next period. But the politics of Chinese revisionism is difficult to understand at best; they may simply be victims of their mechanical distortions of Marxist analysis.

The last ten years reveal that Chinese revisionism operates in a three-sided battle. On one side, it is used to attack US imperialism. On another, it is used against the USSR, in the form of directly accusing the Soviets of imperialist designs but also in the form of attacking Soviet revisionism. Its revisionism, as a result, takes a different coloring. Its goal is the same, but with this important difference: its purpose is to promote Chinese, not Soviet imperialism. The third side of its battle is internal. But here too there are important differences. Chinese revisionism has been a significant part of the struggle among different groupings of "capitalist roaders" for state power. At the same time it is used in the fight to make the working classes a willing party to their own loss of power.

The first two sides of this battle indicate that the ruling class of China intends China to be a third center of capitalism, not a satellite of either super power. Its strategy is to capture what it calls the third world for its own imperialist ends. Both US imperialism and Soviet revisionism are roadblocks. Its international tactics on the diplomatic, political, and economic levels--but primarily on the diplomatic--are designed to offset these roadblocks, mainly by getting the super powers to stalemate each other and in the process wear each other out. As I said earlier, the Chinese ruling class judges the USSR to have more advantages in world affairs now. The alliance with the US is its way of trying to establish a stalemate between the two. The whole point of these tactics is to buy time. China needs a great deal of time to develop its productive forces so that economically it has the capacity to carry out its imperialist aims in the third world. It needs time, and this is the most immediate problem, to restore order and consolidate ruling class control internally.

The battle among the different sections of capitalism for state power is grossly misunderstood if it is seen as a palace dispute. It was a major class struggle among the different capitalist groupings. Each grouping mobilized millions of non-working class, primarily bourgeois forces to its side. Furthermore each grouping used revisionism to win millions of working class forces to its side. The road of the revisionists toward expropriating the working class in China has been far tougher to travel than for the Soviet rulers. The battle among the capitalist roaders is probably now over. The first group to be defeated was the section that basically wanted the capitalists class to stay in the orbit of Soviet imperialism, even if that meant being junior partner. The next section to be beaten was the "gang-of-four." It represented that part of the capi-

talist class that wanted to be no one's junior partner and thought the best strategy was to go it completely alone, leaving stalemate conditions to spontaneity. As things look now, the capitalist roaders who represent that section of the capitalist class that wants to be no one's junior partner but wants to actively manipulate the conditions of stalemate are in complete control of the state. (65)

But although the battle among these different sections appears to be finally decided after more than ten years, it has left behind an explosive and highly disordered situation among the classes. The victorious capitalist roaders are busy liquidating this dangerous problem (to them, that is). They have had to use substantial armed forces to this end. Until they have pacified the population and particularly the working class through revisionism, they will have to keep a major part of their army on ready-alert for domestic purposes. This internal problem makes it hardly possible for China at this stage to add its regulars and/or reserves to either bloc. On the other hand, their tactics of stalemate and wear each other out signify that, even if or when internal affairs have been stabilized, the Chinese ruling class has no intentions of lending its army to any one on any consistent long range basis. That army will be in the field, if it is forced to be in the field, for the purpose of extending Chinese imperialism. The next world war may be a two-sided affair, but with a third side deploying its forces in its own favor. This may mean that China will be a reluctant dragon on one side if need be, possibly then on another if stalemate requires it, and mostly an aggressive one for itself against smaller powers, while the US and USSR are occupied with each other. Lenin said somewhere that the real world, particularly when in rapid movement and sharp contradiction, is richer and more concretely complex than theory. How much more so than schoolboy arithmetic! No, it would not at all do to count China's army in the US column.

Production figures and military logistics belong to the living texture of history, the texture of unstable not relatively permanent capitalist relationships, of class struggle as the key motive force, and of revisionist strategies aimed at multiple targets. That kind of history computes numbers dialectically and provides a strong case for the judgement that the USSR is "top dog." Dann-Dillon claim that the difference between themselves and this judgement is only a matter of estimate. But that's only a lot of jive, just another attempt on their part to do a number on us. The difference is between a revolutionary view of the current period and a non-revolutionary view. Their political conclusions are suspicious because the dangers they foresee follow, not from the estimate that the USSR is now ahead of the US, but from their own reverse opinion, the opinion that today's raw economic figures unrelated to historical process determine relative strength.

If it were only a matter of Dann-Dillon, their mistaken political views would hardly be worth much attention. But Dann-Dillon have been around for a long time. They have been leading members of the Party, have learned their politics mostly in the Party. Dann-Dillon are for these reasons probably symptomatic of a more general right-wing weakness among all of us in the Party. It may be found in similar disagreements as theirs with what is basically a sound Marxist line but also in what seems on the surface to be agreement, the empty echoing of slogans. This kind of echoing covers up a failure to think dialectically, to take

full account of concrete reality (including numbers), to build a base for the Party year round (without hip-hopping to different people), to participate and generate class struggle, and to make every struggle a schooling in communist ideas. How could anyone build a base year round without hip-hopping, how could anyone make communist ideas the guiding tool of class struggle, the means of winning the working class to the Party with only slogans to say? The arithmetic of numbers and the arithmetic of slogans end up with the same political sum, zero.

The criticism of Dann-Dillon serves best as self-criticism of all the ways in which all of us don't "fight city hall" because the US is too strong, or revisionism too clever, the working class too unresponsive, ourselves too lazy or afraid to listen to them so that we come to know better how to get a response from them, or too uncommitted to get beyond the slogan to the concrete evidence and dialectics of the Party's politics.

S. Agonistes

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WHAT WE CAN DO

Our brothers have taken a courageous stand against the KKK and their vicious racist campaign. The Camp Pendleton 14 Defense Committee has been organized to provide political, legal, and financial support for our brothers. Tens of thousands of dollars will be necessary to guarantee the defense of the 14 and to prevent the Marine Corps from railroading them to military prison for up to 21 years. Many individuals and organizations will be needed to mobilize for their support and help win their freedom. The Defense Committee strongly urges everyone who can to:

- **GIVE AND HELP RAISE MONEY.** Make checks payable to: **CAMP PENDLETON 14 DEFENSE FUND.**
- **CIRCULATE THE PETITION** to President Carter and the Camp Pendleton Base Commander demanding freedom for the 14.
- **WRITE LETTERS** to the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington urging its members to publicly demand freedom for the 14 and an end to Klan organizing and racist attacks and harassment at Pendleton.
- **DEMONSTRATE.** A state-wide support rally and march is being planned near the base for the early weeks of the trial. A call is being circulated to all organizations requesting their sponsorship and participation.

**FREE
THE CAMP
PENDLETON
14
END RACISM**

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT ENDORSE THE STATEWIDE MARCH AND RALLY AS OF 3/1/77

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Black Law Students Association, U.C. Davis
Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guytone, Oakland
Black Teachers Caucus, San Francisco
Military Law Forum, San Francisco
Committee Against Racism (C.A.R.)
Dr. Harry Edwards, U.C. Berkeley
Charles Jackson, former President of S.F. State Student Government
Black Panther Party
Progressive Labor Party
Julian Richardson, Marcus Books, San Francisco
Pat Ryle, Head Steward Colgate-Palmolive, Berkeley
Scalpel Caucus, Kaiser, San Francisco
S.E.I.U. Local 535, San Francisco
Geneva Towers Children Center Parent Advisory Council, San Francisco
San Diego Welfare Rights Organization
J. Rutherford Willems, writer
C.O.A.C.H., Los Angeles (Crusade to Organize and Accomodate Community Harmony)
Manchester Senior Citizen Council, Los Angeles
National Lawyers Guild
Laney Black Student Union, Oakland
Laney College Student Government, Oakland
Leslie Simon, San Francisco
Asian-American Studies Support Committee, U.C. Davis
Rev. Cecil Williams, Glide Memorial Church, San Francisco
Fernando Barreiro, Shop Steward, Health Workers, Mission Mental Health
(SEIU Local 400)
Pan African Student Union, San Francisco State University
Committee Against Racism in Education, (C.A.R.E.), Berkeley
Dan Georgakas, writer
Concerned Black Employees of Crown Zellerbach, Los Angeles
A.F.S.C.M.E. Local 1695, U.C. Berkeley
Eli Shul, editor, Toward Revolutionary Art
Pan-African Board, U.C. Berkeley
Black Student Union, Merritt College, Oakland
I, You, We Caucus, Cedars Sinai Hospital, Los Angeles
Graduate Students Association, U.C.L.A.
Committee for Equal and Quality Education (Watts Branch)
Robert Coons, program director; Jackie Robinson YMCA, San Diego
Dr. Carlton Goodlett editor/published, Sun-Reporter
Thomas Fleming, managing editor, Sun-Reporter
Dr. Ernest Bates, Neuro-Surgeon, U.C. Medical Center
Associated Student Government, S.F. State University
Black Studies Department, S.F. State University
Glen Nance, Chairman, Afro-American Studies Dept., S.F. City College
Afro-American Studies Department, San Francisco City College
East Bay Peace & Freedom Party
San Francisco Peace and Freedom Party
Black Student Union, Mira Costa College, Oceanside
Amanda Walker, San Diego
Los Angeles City College Black Students Union
Robert Chrisman, Black Scholar Magazine
Ministers Council For Equal Opportunity For Minority Groups, Sacramento
Alliance For Responsible Employment and Admission Policy, U.C. Medical Center, S.F.
Northern California Alliance
Black Law Students of West Los Angeles College of Law
AFSME Local 1650, U.C. Medical Center, San Francisco
John Hess, editor, Jump-Cut Magazine

March 13, 1977

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Dear Challenge:

I am very disturbed by your editorial "Never Take Aid From the Enemy". This editorial is an attack on the west coast party and could really hurt the campaign. In the first place the title is right of course but is not the point that should be made while we are building a mass movement to fight racism, fascism, the state and win people to PLP. We need support from the party. There should be a national campaign. The lead editorial does nothing to build the march in Oceanside. It amounts to abandoning the struggle. I just left a party for the Camp Pendleton 14. There were no revisionists there, There were no bosses there, but there were a lot of people there including the marines who are out on bail.

I have been a friend of the party for 10 years and a past member for 2. Tonight a co-worker from Kaiser asked to join the party.

Then I came home and read the editorial. The party in California would never ask aid from revisionists or class enemies. The party has always exposed these people. But if you have a mass organization there will be people involved who want to enlist support from people we know to be rotten. We can't run everything. If we only work with those who already agree where is the struggle? The point is that PL is leading the campaign and will continue to do so. The point is that more people are joining the party--that we are fighting racism in deed not just in words.

The slogan "smash racism by destroying capitalism is new to me.

We can't destroy capitalism tomorrow but we can fight racism every single day.

We can't wait till the revolution. We can't end racism without ending capitalism but racism will still have to be fought even after capitalism is destroyed.

Not to realize this is called economic determinism I believe.

It is untrue that there are members and friends of PL who believe that there are black ruling class forces that have the same interests as us because they are black. I have never heard this from anyone associated with PL.

I feel there is a very dangerous trend going on. Back to isolation. Back to sectarianism. It is fear of the masses that prompts this. It reminds me of the guy on the corner during a strike holding up a sign "Revolution is the Only Answer" while everyone else is fighting the cops. How pure. How ineffectual. How isolated. I hope there will be no more attacks on the Camp Peledon campaign. It will be proven I am sure that no aid was taken from the enemy. That many people will join PL and CAR and the fight against racism and fascism will escalate.

Dare to Struggle. Dare to win. Fight racism. Fight for ~~xxx~~ socialism.

Blanche Bebb
Kaiser Hospital
Plp
SF

LETTER TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

For Internal Bulletin.

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This analysis of the current crisis in the party is written with the hope of avoiding the party's "throwing out the baby with the bath-water." While the disagreements are serious, they are not as yet such that ~~they~~ ^{they} couldn't be resolved by a full and open debate of the issues.

Let me say at the outset that I am in complete agreement with the essence of the Dann-Dillon position on the United Front. Let me further state that both the timing and the content of the "Report from January N.C. on United Front Work" and the C-D editorial of March 17 ("Never take Aid") are so racist that the violation of the party line on racism dwarfs any violations of centralism on the part of the SF leadership (the SF violations of centralism was made necessary anyway by the NC violation of democracy around this crucial question of the UF).

The NC report and the C-D editorial are racist because:

- 1) They attack the demands of the mass anti-racist movement -- Free the Camp Pendleton 14 and End racism -- as "civil libertarian" & "vacuous", and "vague generalities". Tell that to the Marines!
- 2) The timing of these documents has the effect of undermining the leadership -- mainly minority -- of the party and the march, and ~~of sabotaging~~ ^{of sabotaging} the campaign and the ~~march~~ march. It is hard to believe that the NSC wouldn't be aware of these effects.
- 3) To ~~break~~ ^{dissolve} this coalition after the march as ordered by the NC will write off the movement to the revisionists -- who have been effectively thwarted by Hari's skillful application of a UF policy -- and would objectively aid the Marine Corps in its attempt to railroad the 14 into prison. The key to a successful UF strategy is to maximize the participation of masses while at the same time minimizing the influence of the revisionists. This narrow line as been effectively walked with the Defense Committee.
- 4) The C-D editorial slanders the campaign and the party leadership by implying that they were taking money from the ruling class. This is simply untrue.

Unless these racist distortions are corrected immediately, no matter what actions are taken, the party will be destroyed as a revolutionary force in the Bay Area.

I believe these distortions are directly attributable to the incorrect line on National Liberation as put forward in Road to Revolution III and so brilliantly refuted by the article beginning on p. 27 of the Jan. 12 (fat) internal bulletin. As quoted in that article, RR III ~~says~~ says the following about National Liberation:

From the point of view of workers, peasants and other oppressed people, there is no way to 'sell out' a struggle for national liberation -- because this struggle is ~~in~~ itself a sellout in its very conception.

National Liberation is a sellout demand ~~xxxxxxx~~

if it is not tied to socialist revolution, I suppose, because it denies the class character of the struggle. But just because the nationalists and revisionists deny the class nature of the struggle doesn't mean it doesn't exist! What is misnamed National Liberation by the ~~xxxx~~ sell-outs is in reality a struggle by the working class of the country in question against US imperialism, as part of the fight for socialism. It is the working class aspects of such struggles, which vary immensely in strength from country to country, that we must support unequivocally, even as we struggle relentlessly against the nationalist/revisionist aspect.

Because of our national chauvinist rejection of the millions involved in such so called National Liberation struggles, we write them off ~~xx~~ to the Soviet camp. Thus we overestimate the strength of Soviet Imperialism relative to the US. In practice, we treat National Liberation forces as the primary enemy, while US imperialism is secondary. For instance, we are virtually silent on events in Zimbabwe, as though it really doesn't matter if US imperialism is defeated there. Internally to the US, this view translates ~~x~~ in practice to the notion that nationalism, not racism, is the main enemy.

We forget: National Liberation and nationalism are reactions to US imperialism and racism. ~~Sxxx~~ Sophisticated arguments about which contradictions are "internal" and "external" are slick camouflage for racism. Tell the Vietnamese peasants ~~thatxxxx~~ in 1968-72 that revisionism ~~xx~~ was their main enemy ~~andxxxxxxx~~ while the US imperialism was saturation bombing, and they'll spit in your face. Unless we fight US imperialism and racism primarily, we can't possibly convince anyone of the dangers of nationalism and revisionism.

So we attack the Panthers, not the police who are shooting them; we attack the NLF and less so the US which is murdering them; and finally, we attack our own party members and the Camp Pendleton 14 Defense Committee for uniting with a few petty bourgeois nationalist forces in ~~x~~ ~~xxx~~ their exemplary campaign against the KKK, the military brass, and the revisionists in general. It is a pattern of racism which the PLP cannot afford to repeat.

Reform and Revolution, despite the many distorted interpretations of it, gives us a possible tool for resolving this situation. If National Liberation struggles were considered reform struggles, then our role would be to raise communist ideas from within those struggles. We should in fact study in depth every such struggle and figure out how to make contact with the left and have some influence, no matter what it takes.

But as for the Pendleton case, it is of the utmost importance that we continue to pursue the effective UF policy as we have been doing, with no changes in leadership. Further, the party nationally should build this campaign all out so that a national UF can be mobilized to carry the struggle through the ~~xxxx~~ lengthy appeals process. Every party area should build a Defense ~~xx~~ Committee and concentrate on involving military personnel at nearby bases. If some areas want to pursue the NC line on centering the campaign around the line of CAR, then we would have an experiment in real life as to which type of approach is best ~~+~~ build the party. Such a campaign could be accompanied by a full and open debate leading up to a party convention in a year or so.

(An interesting aside: if the California leadership had done nothing about the Camp Pendleton 14, would we be in this crisis? Would Hari and Jim be threatened with demotion?)

If the above measures are taken, unity in the party can be preserved and we will have the opportunity to advance the line and the practice to new qualitative heights. If the NC majority persists in its recalcitrant attitude, all that will be accomplished is the maintenance of the party as just another of myriad of small, irrelevant, racist sects on the "left", if it survives at all. Racism in the party must not be tolerated from any quarter, any more than the "capitalist road" was tolerated by the Red Guards when the Cultural Revolution was launched in China. I for one will carry this struggle through to the end.

Comradely,

Henry Hitz

FOOTNOTE ON ROOTS:

As the author of the leading "right-wing trend" review of Roots, let me testify to the value of debate in the party. Subsequent reviews have convinced me that I over-reacted to the racism ~~x~~ of the first review in emphasizing the positive aspects (I still think there are some; I never came close to stating that the positive aspects were primary, as one of my critics accuses me). I ~~agg~~ agree in the main with the March 17 review. My main point, which is germane to the central debate, is that if we ignore the positive aspects, if we ignore what millions of ~~a~~ honest people liked about Roots, who the hell are we talking to? Or to quote ~~Ernie~~ Ernie Brill, ~~maybe~~ maybe I ~~tail~~ the masses sometimes, but it doesn't hurt to look them up once in a while!

α FOOTNOTE ON SEXISM:

Terrific to see all the concern ~~af~~ over sexism in the party in the bulletins. Why in the hell wasn't Kitty E., NC member from San Francisco, invited to the special meeting to talk about problems with the work on the west coast???

03/14/77 (74)

Dear Mr. Mort, PL, and OO Challenge,

For about two years I've been a great admirer of your paper and your Party stand on the working class. I've paid my money to read your papers ~~for~~ and on the March 17th Issue

of Challenge-Resistor, Page #2 Editorial.

It goes on to make some of the most Racist! And Pro Anti-Communist and forget about Socialism statements that I've ever seen are heard. The C-D goes on to brand everyone as ~~flunkies~~ flunkies, short on insight and the way I read it just Plain Dumb!! But not only this it gets a little deeper ~~and~~ than this in the internal Bulletin and to the name calling bit about the people working in the Camp Penitentiary 14 D.F.C. is nothing short of ----! You don't know us but yet you pass judgement the same way as ~~Hitler~~ Hitler did with the Jews! You cry Amosh Racism and Join the PLP! But Everyone can't afford to join an elite Social Club. You are pretending to fight, But you are very asleep!

You are calling this the Progressive Labor Party
but I am not seeing you hauling any progress!
It is the Peoples Party I was led to Under-
stand; but now you are calling it just yours!

We are very well aware of these People
— Bond, R. Dellums Cecil William P. Good etc.
etc. But I was always taught By any
means Necessary!! But that doesn't mean
that they are taking over. What do you do
~~with~~ without the Masses? Who ~~do~~ do
you have to teach if ~~there~~ there are none?
It's just like a man and women becoming
~~sterile~~ Sterile, there is no reproduction; and
your blood line dies! But it takes heavy
People to ~~recognize~~ see and understand that
these Brothers ^{the} C-14 need us and you are
calling Names!

Chairman Mao had this to say about your
editorial: "To link oneself with the Masses one
must act in accordance ~~with~~ with the needs and
wishes of the Masses. All work done for the Masses
must start from their needs and not and not from the
the desire of any ~~individual~~ individual."

Sure and true I know Mr. Hilligon and in working with
I think we have become fairly good friends in such a short time
and I feel he is a strong and sincere man! and I have
~~been~~ ^{been} ~~come~~ ^{come} in him as a leader because he isn't afraid
to make decisions!

And believe me this is what you are going to need with the hard line you say you have. I was believing the Party and the way it was standing behind the People but now I only see another form of Racism!!

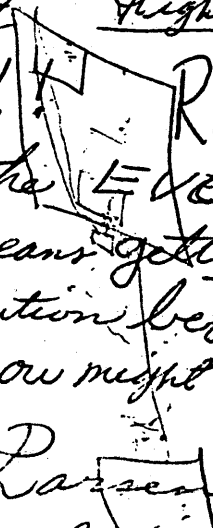
In fact I don't really have that much more time to deal with the right and wrong of it because right now because the Camp Penelton 14 Cases are my main concern; Because if this is allowed to be passed over and forgotten Say Brothers Where are we at? We are in trouble!! Big trouble! And that is why I believe it is right to take the struggle to ~~the~~ the Masses ~~to~~ because they have a right to know! This Struggle doesn't just belong to anyone group and that is why I am working so hard as Co-Chairman of the Camp Penelton 14 D.C. And as long as there is injustice going on with these young brothers there will be a C P 14 D C Because I will make sure, and when and if I can't someone else will so on and so forth! I don't know which one of those names were meant for me and I don't care now; But I want to get into call you any because you've called them all your self! It's really a shame to see the PLP moving hard line a way from the People; And I can prove this By showing them (People) this last issue of (Challenge) PL Editorial!!

I know this isn't the Proper Paper to write on but it's all that I had and I just had to say something fast when I found out Mr. Dillion was going to New York. I hope he gives this to you because it's meant for you like you say the Party is for you! Let me leave you with these words of Chairman Mao

"Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political ~~consciousness~~ consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations."

I've been under a lot of fire, Verbal and gun I don't have time and space to name it all, but each shot that was fired I believed in the Cause.

Free the Camp Penelton 14 Fight Racism!

By Any Means Necessary!  REVOLUTION IS OR going to come with the EVOLUTION OF THE MIND!! And that means getting out of the Club house a feeling the situation before you put anybody else down! You might be the one in the dark!

Timi Larsen
SF CO-Chairman

Camp Penelton 14 Defense Comm.

LETTER TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

(78)

The editorial of March 17, was one of the most racist piece of propagand ever printed in a Communist Newspaper.

I consider myself, one of the stronger Challenge sellers, but I couldn't and won't go around selling that racist Editorial, to anyone, not even my enemy, for them to use against me. It's not the ruling class alone that's saying, "Don't go to the defense of the Pendleton 14, People on the N.C. are saying it. (Do you mean PLP. people shouldn't support the Black Marines, in their struggle for Freedom?) The title of your Editorial should have been, "Never Take "Aid" From Racists

It was, and is very important that Black people read and know what is going on in the world of today. Dr. Goodlett, happens to be the owner of the newspaper called, "The Sun Reporter", a Black newspaper. It is sold and distributed in the black neighborhoods, and in white neighborhoods too. Most Blacks get this paper and it is read. Charles Callaway puts the articles about Pendleton in the paper. So in essence we are using his name, to get his paper, to get the news out to our brothers and sisters.

We get articles in the Chronicle, Examiner, T.V. Stations and press all over. Why the attack on how the news gets to Blacks (Racism?) Chronicle doesn't even deliver in my neighborhood, it's a blackout area (other words too many blacks who may not pay for the service). I, for one, don't and won't buy the Chronicle. I discourage others not to. Everyone who buys a newspaper helps to get the Hearst family a little richer. Where do we draw the line? On Blacks finding out what's going on, or making the rich richer.

It was out of the struggle for the 8 hour day that May Day was born. August Spies, A Communist, and 3 other Class brothers were hung by the ruling class, for organizing the workers. It's our Holiday, one we respect, and look forward to each year. Building for May Day has been attacked by Barbara Hertz, and I feel she owes the May Day Committee an apology. Saying May Day has not been built for. It has been built to the point where we were having ^{meetings} twice a week, phone calls everyday, visits with our base, about May Day. We in S.F. are building. I can't speak for L.A. That may be their problem, but not ours. We have the halls rented, permits gotten, money raised, tickets for luncheon out and selling, breakfast planned, catering service contacted we have a beautiful poster, and our leaflet is superb. In S.F. we have an annual May Day Cookbook typed up with political slogans in it, and put out as a Raffle Prize annually. We have our 2nd annual one ready. Everyone is ready to win it. It is dedicated to August Spies this year.

I feel that there is a lot of Racism and Nationalism going on in the N. Victor said, "Latin People couldn't go along with the Anti-racist program, it didn't relate to them. (Isn't it because of Racism that Latin People are being deported?) So going to the border wouldn't pertain to black people, most of us. We, black people, went to Delano last year, slept on the cold ground, and were ready to fight the KKK or whoever came to disrupt. Then went to L.A. Shouting NO MORE DEPORTATIONS. So where is democratic centralism being broken? Here or there.

79

I'm surprized at the Racism of Victor coming out like that. Barbara H. was outright racist in nature. *She learned it from the leadership* ~~locally & nationally~~. If they are expelled, we all are expelled. Because we believe in the same line, and have the same goals. These Racists around the Party should be kicked out.

I couldn't sleep thinking of the Racism that has been going on in the N.C.

Barbara Hertz, could have, but didn't contact May Day Committee to to even talk of May Day, so where does she get her false information?

Maybe in L.A. they aren't building, we are in the S.F. area. I'm working god damn hard at building for it *non-racist people* ~~worked hard in helping~~. We've had fund raisers already.

I'm criticizing Barbara Hertz for not contacting the S.F. May Day Committee personally, if she wanted to know about May Day, and for her racist of all racist letters, to the N.C. One struggle helps build another. Pendleton will help build May Day. Their will be an end to Racism, I will fight for that some where some how, my voice will be heard. Someone will help.

Yours in struggle for all the workers
of all races.

Earle Marshall Hertz
P.L.P.

To all NC members,

It seems to us that the NSC as well as the Bay Area N.C. members have been acting very subjectively in the series of disagreements that culminated in the current editorial (see adjoining letter to Challenge-Desafic.)

(80)

We are not particularly interested in how it all began, who started it, who said what to whom, etc...It is clear that we are dealing with serious disagreements and that the content of the debate takes precedence over the mistakes committed by both sides in the form of the debate (i.e. violations of democratic centralism, provocative argumentation, & rumor-mongering.)

We suggest that the March 19 N.C. meeting make the following decisions:

- (1) Immediately open a one-year debate on the united front and whatever other issues may come up. The debate should be carried out in Challenge as well as internal bulletins. All submissions should be printed.
- (2) Start making plans for the 1978 Party Convention. (~~Pre~~-convention discussion can include an evaluation of the 1973 convention - strengths and weaknesses.)
- (3) Allow the Camp Pendleton 14 campaign to continue with its present strategy of the united front. Within this framework offer constructive criticisms of right-opportunist errors (which are inevitable in any attempt at U.F. work.)
- (4) Send someone from the NSC to discuss the united front and the Camp Pendleton 14 campaign with the Bay Area expanded leadership.
- (5) Retract the absurd sections of the Volume 13, #42 editorial.
- (6) Request that Jim, Hari, and Kitty self-criticize for their factionalism in not informing the Bay Area Party of the NC majority position and in not ensuring that it be presented properly. All factionalizing must stop.

Nobody wants a split. The differences are too deep to be resolved in one NC meeting. At this point, compromises are going to be necessary on both sides. The above suggestions are geared to developing a workable framework for inner+Party struggle and to restoring an atmosphere of overall Party unity. Only in this context can we defeat sectarianism and opportunism.

Dora Picciotto
Henri Picciotto
(Berkeley PLP
members.)

P.S. While the errors committed by Jim, Hari and Kitty are very serious, they are not counter-revolutionaries. This is a contradiction among the people. We doubt that more than a handful of Bay Area party members will allow them to be taken out of leadership.

To the NC:

(81)

I have been a member of the party for about 2 years. Previous to that, I had been close to the party, defending its line and giving a sustainer equal to about 10% of my income, for about 6 years. I have come to view the party as the only, not just the best, hope for socialism in this country and in the world. I have tried both to carry out the party's line and to discuss it with my friends. And now, I am afraid that the party is about to commit revolutionary suicide, to decimate itself, and to abandon hundreds--potentially thousands, millions--of workers and their allies to cynicism, hopelessness, or ~~the~~ to the capitalist alternative of doing one's own thing.

There seems to be a hardening of line, itself not necessarily a bad thing unless it chokes off debate within the party, as it seems presently to be doing. The recent C/D editorial (March 17), NC Report (January?), and party internal all attest to this hardening, and all should be seriously criticized.

It seems that the problem began after the emergence of the party's line on war and fascism. To my knowledge, no one disputes the idea that there is a trend to fascism at home and inter-imperialist world war abroad, or that the root of this trend is the decline in the American economy with respect to the economies of other imperialist nations, particularly the Soviet Union. At least no one I know in the Bay Area clubs disputes this analysis. However, it is one thing to locate and publicize a trend, even to determine that is inexorable, and another to say that war and fascism are around the corner, are so imminent as to be expected within weeks or months. Several of the C/D editorials and articles seem to propound this idea, which, I think, is objectively untenable. At least, it merits debate, not unquestioning acceptance.

Then Hari Dillon and Jim Dann wrote a long, extensively researched article--in the form, properly, of a letter to the National Committee--which disputed a C/D article naming the Soviet Union as the "top dog" among the world's imperialist powers. As far as I am concerned, Hari and Jim were correct in writing that article, the article itself is correct or at least an excellent correction of errors made in C/D articles and editorials, and at the very least offered fertile soil for debate. But ~~the article~~ has yet to be answered, unless one calls Mort S.'s and Comrade from Brooklyn's slanders in the most recent internal an "answer." Certainly the NC has not replied; there has been nothing anywhere--either in an internal, an NC report, or in C/D that refutes their arguments with any kind of documentation or serious argument. What response there has been has simply amounted to attacks on Hari and Jim, not a willingness to debate the issue. These two are accused of trying to "undermine the party's line;" What horseshit!!! A democratic-centralist party is supposed to be, I thought, both centralist and democratic. Any viable communist party, I've been taught, thrives on intra-party debate, needs it to refine its line. Well, where's the debate?? A vote at an NC meeting--is that a debate??!! (With a notation in the NC report that Hari "vacillated," as if there were something wrong with questioning whether or not the party's position at any given time were correct!!!) The NC implies there will be no such debate. And don't think that the lesson is not being lost on rank and file party members such as myself. That lesson is: Shut up, buddy, and don't ever question an article in C/D or a report from the NC (notice, I said "question" not "organize around" or "form a faction around", as I'm sure Hari and Jim will be charged with, if they haven't been already.

Then there's "Roots." The "debate" in C/D has been so one-sided as to be a mockery. Most of what has been written attacking the show has been irrelevant at best and racist at worst. Exceptions are the very first anti-"Roots" article (Feb. 10) and the latest (Cultural page, March 17). These reviews were hardly decisive, missed many crucial points, and--the first one especially--bordered on racism. In between these two came HH's review from SF, a review, ^{which} while hardly faultless, was, I felt, brilliant in several aspects. So what transpires after HH's reply to the original review? Again, not a debate, not some sort of objective appraisal, but innuendoes and attacks on HH and virtually everyone in the party in the SF Bay Area!!! Again there's a lesson, the same lesson one learns from the attacks on Hari's and Jim's article.

Finally, there's the big one, the attack on the whole movement around the Camp Pendleton 14 and the United Front Work. ~~True~~, I'm personally involved in the campaign, but I think I'm objective enough to assess the recent NC report and the March 17 C/D editorial for what they are: total misrepresentation of the campaign, unrealistic dreaming and rhetoric, needless chastisement, midstream line-switching on CAR, and racist timing. Any project the party undertakes needs criticism; but this campaign, it seems to me, needs less than most. Generally, it has been exemplary. It has brought 100's of workers and students (particularly minority workers and students) in close touch with the party's ideas, has recruited several people to CAR and a few to the party already, ~~has~~ forced the revisionists into the wings, and has succeeded in penetrating the military with revolutionary ideas to an ~~xx~~ extent unparalleled anywhere else in the country. What the hell kind of united front work has the party in mind if the only people the party can "unite" with are people already in the party--or so closely allied as to be in CAR?? And when did CAR's line develop to include the party's line on the KKK (I mean that they're in the pay of the ruling class) or the party's line on war and fascism and US/USSR rivalry? In my fairly long association with the party, I have never witnessed such an exciting campaign, nor one so well orchestrated, nor one so in keeping with the party's general line. The gutter-sniping from the NC and other quarters which has ensued is not only valueless, but destructive, racist, and anti-communist. Would the NC rather that we had not come into contact with these 100's of presently non-party, non-CAR forces or had not raised their consciousness?

Thus, I see the party in danger of becoming a sect. Rather than wanting to reach out to workers and students who are not presently self-consciously left-wing, the NC and certain other comrades whose articles are accepted into C/D or the internals, wish to mount a purge (and make no mistake--that is what it is) of those "right-wing" (ha!) elements they feel dominate a particular area of work, or a particular line of thought within the party. In no case has there been a breach of party discipline, of democratic-centralism. In all cases has there been a search for discussion and debate. But now, criticism--even questioning--has become tantamount to an assault on the party and its principles.

There is only one answer, and that is a full-scale, full-party, long-term debate on the subject of United Front Work. Another NC meeting will not fill the bill. If the national leadership of the party is truly inspired by communist ideals and practice, it will not only permit such a debate; it will seek and encourage it. It will, as well, open the debate to the discussion of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the US and USSR and the imminence of war and fascism. It will not hide behind that false, unobjective, undialectical view of party "discipline" which says that debate is disunity and questioning is treachery. It will not, in short, proceed on the road to revisionism.

(83)

In hope,

Dennis Gregg
Dennis Gregg, SF

P.S.

One final, and personal note. I am especially disturbed by the attacks on Hari Dillon. I hesitate to write this for fear that my previous remarks will be chalked up to personal loyalty. Don't make that mistake. I would not have joined the party were it not for Hari. His dedication and his style of work should make the party proud. To me, it is grotesque that someone whose contributions to revolution have been so great should be so attacked. He is, I believe, a model organizer--a real friend, open-minded and flexible but unflinching in his purpose, specific in criticism and suggestion, encouraging and creative in proposals and evaluation, and self-critical. The party cannot afford to lose his leadership.

From Barbara Hertz:

Dear Milt

Oceanside. Victor and I went down to Oceanside on Wednesday to talk to the people we (the party) have there and find out how the work was going and what they thought of the NC report. Basically we had had no communication with them for about three weeks except to send them money to keep going and a phone call from Charmaine (leader of the work there) who asked for beds, which we got for her. At the outset of this campaign, Hari and I and Victor were jointly responsible for Oceanside, but as differences of line and tactics began to surface (especially around a demonstration in Oceanside in which we brought about 70 people and three red flags, which upset Charmaine--the flags, not the people)

Hari took over the responsibility completely for Oceanside and San Diego. We had ^(close to Oceanside) originally agreed that Victor, being in LA and being very able to do it, should meet with the party study group that was being set up in Oceanside. Hari never called me or Victor to tell us this had changed. He just met with the study group. He only mentioned to me that he would lead the work in Oceanside. He also met with the San Diego party and decided on a new party leader there without discussing this with us. Anyway that, plus the NC report are the reasons we went to Oceanside to see what ~~it~~ was going on there and what they thought of the NC report. (84)

When we got there Hari was on the phone and asked to speak to me and she asked why we were there and told us we had no business being there. He told Charmaine to have us go to the Defence Committee office and have a conference call with him and Jim. We went there and after we talked a little, Hari called and said Jim "had to leave". He then went into a long attack on me and Victor in which he said we shouldn't be in Oceanside, that if we had any questions about the work, we should call him, and that we should "do some mass work" if we wanted to get a flavor for what was happening and be useful. He also said that we were racist toward Charmaine because we brought those red flags to Oceanside and didn't discuss it with her first (we never dreamed we needed to discuss that with her first) and because Victor spoke at the rally in Oceanside (and gave a very militant speech) without asking her permission. He said I had been factional with Charmaine because during the time I was still helping lead the work in Oceanside, I would call and check up on things that Hari had also checked on and when she would tell me she was doing x or y thing I would ask "Did Hari tell you to do that?" He said that was racist and factional. He ended by telling us to leave Oceanside or do mass work or go on a tour.

(although she did think we should have consulted her before Victor spoke)
After we talked to him, Charmaine was upset. She said she didn't think we were racist towards her, ~~although~~ and she thought the confusions about the rally had to do with the whole differences and confusion about the line—she was afraid of raising the party and a militant line so boldly in Oceanside at first and she thought Hari was against this (Hari claims she was wrong and misunderstood him.). She also said she didn't think I was intentionally factional, it's just that she could tell

(like us always checking on Party-building.)
there were different lines in LA and SF and it made her nervous. She also told me ~~to~~
that about three weeks or so ago HARI TOLD HER NOT TO TALK TO LA ANYMORE AT ALL!
(talk about factionalizing!). Unfortunately after that call Charmaine felt 85
it would be "factional" to talk to us further about the NC report,
She said she felt in Oceanside they were carrying out the report and that their emphasis there had not been on other groups but on building the Committee and the party, and that since the rally we had there she has been open about being in the party.

We talked to another comrade there, Chuck, who is also doing the work in Oceanside. Victor asked him how many CAR members there were in Oceanside. He said only two, because it was his impression that you had to really know some one a long time and explain a lot of things to them before you could ask them to join an advanced organization like CAR. Victor told him he thought we should ask more people to join CAR from the sooner because CAR's line is a line that masses of people will respond to. So evidently Chuck agrees, because the next morning Victor got a call from Charmaine criticizing him for telling this to Chuck, because that night at a meeting Chuck had signed up seven people to CAR who evidently she didn't think were "ready" yet for this step. We later found out that these seven new members who "weren't ready yet" were 7 of the defendants who had attacked the KKK themselves!!!!

When we got back from Oceanside, I called Hari immediately because I wanted to tell him more of what I thought of his conduct and that we had every right to go to Oceanside to discuss the NC report and work with Charmaine. He was busy all night (at that meeting you told me about I guess) and the next morning he called me--- to say he didn't want to give me the impression we couldn't go to Oceanside any time we wanted (sic!) and that it was perfectly fine for us to discuss the NC report with Charmaine any time we wanted and he would tell us that!! And he said he never told Charmaine not to talk with us.

3) The Black Panther Party. As you know we were told some time ago by Hari to go to the BPP in LA to get their endorsement for the Defense Committee march--I disagreed, but he insisted strongly because they had such good relations with the group in Oakland that we should contact them down here. We did. They came to two of our

steering committee meetings and were obnoxious—attacking CAR and everybody in it and trying to unite with other new forces at the meetings against us. I raised repeatedly with Hari that we didn't want to have anything to do with them. He told me we 86 had to—and not to do anything that would jeopardize the party's good relations with them in the Bay area. ~~I finally~~ At one point the BPP leader told me he had gotten CASA into the Committee. This group is an arch enemy, of the working class and is directly responsible for the deportation of two of our members. I called Hari and told him I was going to call the BPP and tell them no dice. He told me to go and talk to them in person, to be very careful and, again, not to jeopardize the relationship, etc. Finally I told Hari the BPP had a forum at UCLA and 5 people came. He finally said ok, we didn't have to have anything to do with them in L.A., since they have no base here and ~~the~~ since the relationship was solid with them in the Bay area. I then discovered later that Hari had told Jim Dann that he told us to have nothing to do with the Panthers in LA because they didn't have a base—at least that's what Jim told a member from LA, then Victor, then me. Hari said it was "all a mix up and was now straightened out." I might add that Victor and I kept insisting that the BPP were revisionists and Hari told us they are not—at least in the Bay area, they are a large healthy group not tied to the revisionists.

4) San Diego—another story, but this is very long. To summarize this, some of the members there are very upset. I sent them the NC report. The designated leader there told me he was spending most of his time in the UF work—going to Churches and other groups for the Defence committee (he told me this week). He hadn't thought about building CAR chapters around this at the Welfare office (where we have work) or on the campus, where we have a member. He thought it was a good idea, but on the other hand he was very busy doing the "work"—the UF.

5) At the very first meeting of the West Coast leadership, Hari said he wanted to make this as good as the march for jobs --a UF we ~~go~~ had a big march around out here several years ago. I said we didn't get anything out of that march. Hari said we got some new members out of it in SF. I now question what line we got them around! Reform or revolution, At that march of about 2000 or more about 35 Nazi's showed up and had a counter demo. with racist signs and NAzi uniforms. We did not attack them becu

because we were not prepared to do so at all—neither the party nor its base. There ⁽⁸⁷⁾ were no security precautions taken to prepare for this even though the Nazi's had been showing up in SF at many demos at the time. I raised at the West Coast leadership meeting at the beginnig of this Pendleton campaign that the reason we weren't prepared to attack the Nazi's ^{then was} because we were concentrating on building the UF around a watered down line of "more Jobs" (not even 30/40). Hari disagreed, but I think its the truth and that this current campaign has gone even further in this direction—^{and Fight for Socialism} at a period that is much worse and in which the line "Death to the Fascists" is even a more urgent question. I think that I should have raised all this much more s sharply with the leadership sooner. If I had, alot of this could have been avoided. I think my hesitancy to bring things to a head was based on a bourgeois fear of keeping peace at all costs ^{in the party.} In struggle,

Barbara

Dear Milt:

A couple of things I wanted to tell you about:

The first is May Day--when Harri first told me that he thought the Oceanside (statewide) march should be postponed to April 2--I told him I was against it because it was too close to May Day. Both will cost a lot of money and both involve an all-out effort. He said we had to have it then because the trials would be going on starting in March and he didn't want to have it March 19 or 26 because the revisionists were planning a rally in Oceanside March 19 and we didn't want to have ours too soon after theirs (they've since cancelled their march). He also told me I had a bad attitude and we could build both, using the April 2 march to bring people to May Day. I told him we'd better start winning people to May Day before that.

Then last week, I called him because I wanted to have a statewide leadership meeting--mainly about May Day and about how to link the April 2 march to May Day, because I thought May Day was getting lost in the shuffle. He said we didn't need a meeting because since Armando and Lisa were on the statewide May Day committee from here, they could take care of problems and lead in building May Day and that I should have more confidence in them. I told him I thought we needed to have a leadership meeting to discuss the politics of the May Day march and how to link the work around Pendleton to that (I suggested the slogan--"Smash racism-Death to the Fascists" be the PL slogan at the April 2 rally). He said we didn't need a meeting and that it was a strength rather than a weakness, that the main leadership didn't have to meet about May Day and that the whole thing would be planned and built by this committee and that I should have more trust in Armando and Lisa (leaders of the Party in LA). That sounds fine, but the top leadership is very much involved with the April 2 march--Harri is checking the leaders in each area about all of it and we have had 2 statewide leadership meetings about Camp Pendleton and many other meetings. We still didn't have the lit. for May Day. I do have faith in Armando and Lisa, but unless we get the whole Party, statewide, including the leadership, to have a strategy about this, it's not going to be too good!

On the other question of the confusion about whether or not Carlton Goodlet and Ron Dellums have endorsed the march in Oceanside--I told you about the list and the phone conversation with Connie Miller (A Party member in S.F.). The only thing I can add is that some time ago--sometime after our first statewide ~~index~~ leadership meeting about Pendleton in which we had an argument about how to build the united front, but before the NC meeting--I was talking to Harri on the phone and he explained to me that he thought it would be good--would help draw in people to support the Defense Committee and would head off the revisionists' ability to build a committee!--if we had Dellums and Goodlet as sponsors or endorsers! I remember the conversation because I was really surprised and I told Harri I disagreed with that--I also remember because he had to tell me who ~~X~~ Carlton Goodlet was. Besides telling me he was the editor of the leading black newspaper ~~X~~ in S.F., I think he told me he was the richest black man in SF.

I would just like to add that this whole strategy has, in my opinion, vindicated our line 100%. We've gotten nothing that I know of out of uniting with these revisionist-dominated groups (like the Black Panther Party in LA--they say it's very different in the Bay area) and putting CAR and PLP second and third. Some of the other groups have some good people in them but they're not mass and they didn't turn out their membership automatically. We would have gotten much more by building CAR from the beginning (as we started to do here) as THE support group and then asking other groups to unite with CAR. We STILL would have united with the honest groups and have had more of a chance to win them to CAR and the Party. Also we wouldn't have been so limited. For example, racist Checkpoint Charlie is near (just north of) Oceanside and Victor (a pl leader in LA) wanted to combine the march in support of the marines and against the KKK with a picket at Checkpoint Charlie--he thought combining then would make it more possible to bring a larger contingent from CAR-Immigration/ But of course if you have a single issue "support" group, that becomes impossible, etc., etc.

Did you ever see the CAR ~~pamphlet~~ pamphlet we wrote? It was printed once (badly) and was supposed to be reprinted, but I haven't seen it reprinted--I think they ran out of money. - Barbara

Dear Comrades, **MARCH 16**

At the Bay Area leadership meeting on Mar. 9, a serious attack on the party's line and strategy was launched by the San Francisco leadership. The National Committee of the party was criticized for being sectarian and undemocratic and some comrades implied the the NC was trying to destroy the Camp Pendleton 14 defense movement. A vote was held on the motion to demand party-wide discussion on the question of the united front, specifically in regard to the defense committee. The motion passed with one comrade opposed. 89

Comrades, I did not vote against that proposal because I am against broad internal discussion on the party's line, but because I am 100% opposed to factionalism in any form. Honest debate is impossible when some comrades attempt to factionalize in the party. At this point our main task should be to unite around the principals that make our party truly revolutionary--criticism/self-criticism, the primacy of the struggle against racism, and the OPEN struggle for worker's power.

Can we honestly say that factionalizing is taking place? I may be wrong but I feel that most of what was said at the Wed. night meeting was of a factional nature. I recall that:

- 1) The discussion about the united front had taken place at the NC meeting in January, yet the S.F. leadership has continued to organize the CP14 campaign without any discussion among the SF rank and file regarding the united front, the line of the defense committee, and the role of CAR. Moreover, we were all informed about this at a crucial point in the campaign, a time where this type of discussion would (and has) cause widespread confusion.
- 2) Jim Dann, after first refusing to discuss the NC report, proceeded to attack the party's role in every mass campaign we've been involved in since 1965. Regarding the NC report, he stated "this is the second biggest piece of shit the party's ever put out", the first being an anti-revisionist leaflet put out during the anti-war movement. He also publicly resigned from the NC so that he would be "free to comment".
- 3) Ken Epstein commented that the NC's line "would lead the party down the road to destruction".
- 4) The S.F. leadership refused to discuss the right wing errors in the campaign and the party's work, even though a number of comrades, including myself, raised this point.
- 5) No plans were made to implement even the aspects of the line we agree on, namely building CAR as a mass based anti-racist organization and more open polemics against the right wingers in the defense committee (Rev. Williams, Goodlet, ect.)

It should be obvious that there are very serious problems in the SF party. I personally feel as responsible as anyone else for our weaknesses. My own political work has tended towards racism, elitism and cynicism. Yet to blame this on the NC's supposed sectarianism completely avoids dealing with the opportunist, right-wing direction of the SF party.

Before I elaborate on my views of the SF work, I feel it's important to respond to some unjust criticisms of the NC.

- 1) The NC has no intention to disband the Camp Pendleton 14 campaign or to disrupt it in any way. On the contrary, the NC promotes the idea of raising the struggle to a higher level, to organize workers and students around a militant, antiracist, ON-GOING organization like CAR and to win the antiracist forces to the need for revolution as the only real answer to the fascistization of Amerikkka. Comrades all over the country are carrying this line out with success. The objective situation is heating up throughout the country--rebellion is in the air. Thousands of people will respond to our revolutionary ideas if we put our ideas forward and carry them out in practice.
- 2) The NC does not have a sectarian position. To be sectarian is

to isolate yourself from the working class, to say that workers are too backward to understand communist ideas, to refuse to unite with those who disagree with you. However, the party has consistently reached out to and recruited workers, has fought for the leadership of workers over the more "intellectual", petty bourgeois elements, and has successfully participated in and built united fronts without weakening our own position, e.g. the anti-war movement, the Boston Summer Project. Through both of these campaigns the party has grown, and has become more working class and more integrated. (90)

3) The NC is not undemocratic nor has it violated democratic centralism. There was a thorough discussion of the issues involved, the majority position adopted; and the decision carried out in all areas with NC representatives EXCEPT San Francisco. If this is not how democratic centralism works, then we should all have to fly to New York for every NC meeting to put in our 2¢ worth! In all honesty, comrades, the NC has consistently shown itself to be open to criticism and new ideas. And, in the long run, it is up to all of us to establish the correct line through our practice.

Despite the nationwide efforts to build revolutionary consciousness among the masses the San Francisco party has been stagnating. Racism and sexism are serious problems yet there has been no criticism or discussion of these problems. A number of women and minority comrades have left the party, sometimes without anyone struggling with them! A number of other minorities and women who should be leaders of our party are left out of the leadership or are given no help in developing their ability to lead. Can a revolutionary party exist under these conditions?

The lack of criticism/self-criticism and political discussion has allowed many reactionary tendencies to develop. The "employee" mentality has assumed full-blown proportions with an elite group deciding on the line and the membership carrying it out. The City Committee meetings, in particular, are restricted almost entirely to tactical plans. All this leads to is lack of discipline, liberal ideology, racism, sexism, and inability to understand or carry out the party's line.

We can readily see how these weaknesses are carried over to our mass work. The party activists in the campaign have not defended the party's line and have bent over backwards to solicit the participation of liberal bourgeois forces. Coupled with the refusal to build progressive groups like CAR, this is disastrous. S.F. State CAR recently witnessed the spectacle of seeing the Camp Pendleton defendants' visit to the campus sponsored by the ultra-reactionary Pan African Student Union with no participation by CAR whatsoever! If we can not win students to our own organizations then why are we organizing there in the first place?

Our main task in the united front is to unite with the rank and file workers and students. We have no need to lay out the red carpet for the "lieutenants of capital". We want to win people to revolution- to do this we should be spending 95% of our time building a base for revolutionary ideas! If we had done this the defense campaign would be ten times stronger than it is now.

Despite our weaknesses, I believe that our party will emerge out of this debate stronger than ever and much more committed. We should not fear these inner party struggles, but bring them out into the open. In no way are we immune from bourgeois ideas. We must defeat these ideas within our own ranks if we ever hope to defeat them once and for all. In struggle, Mark Rubin, S.F. Students c.

Dear Milt:

3/11/77

(91)

Barbara called last night and said it would not be factional to forward to you a couple observations I'd make about the Camp Pendleton 14 campaign. Some of these points I have already raised at some point in meetings with Hari. Those raised in other ways and a couple not raised are noted. (It is also important to mention that my own practice in the last 6 months has been weak and it had a racist and non-collective approach at the outset of this campaign. I wrote a self-criticism and through carrying out this campaign I think some improvement occurred).

(1) At the 3 meetings for SD leadership I attended in Oceanside chaired by Hari the agenda has been: (1) United Front work - (2) mass work - (3) party building. At none of these was Item 3 gotten to without either a serious problem existing or, in the 3rd meeting, a struggle whether to discuss it or not. When I raised that we'd tried to have a PL study group four times with no success, we discussed it. I have consistently wondered why the bulk of time was spent discussing United Front in all meetings instead of 90% time on revolution, but I never raised this as a general criticism.

(2) Assignment of forces in San Diego: I have questioned several aspects of this over time, but made a larger struggle with Hari, which I lost, against having a full-time spy in the revisionist coalition.

Current assignment of 9 PL members:

- 1) Byron (PL leader in SD) full-time on going to organizations to build UF.
- 2) Tom - full-time on steering committee of SD Pendelton Defense Committee and getting faculty endorsements of Defense Committee.
- 3) Marianne - full-time working in Oceanside.
- 4) Cathy Miller- raising \$\$\$s from faculty for legal expenses (on leave due to PH.D. thesis).
- 5) Joe - full-time with revisionists
- 6) Jon- Mass work - (door-to-door committee) of CP Defense Committee
- 7) Pam " " " " " " " "
- 8) Cathy Gorney - mass work and CAR
- 9) Mike - mass work in military

Summary: 4 out of 9 doing mass work

0 out of 9 doing mass PL work

We had a struggle in the SD club to make primary having 2-person teams responsible for recruiting 4-5 people by 4/2/77. This is definitely not main focus in practice. There is general vagueness and confusion and lack of concrete discussion on recruitment.

3) I raised with Byron to raise with Hari that it is extremely serious to be withholding the NIS 200-page report, no matter how we obtained it, from the working class. It includes the Klan constitution inside the military, all its secret code names, etc. Byron only allowed a few copies of 2 pages to be circulated only to friends. Two reasons given:

- 1) could harm relationship with lawyers and/or "injure" legal case.

- (2) could open us to attack by revisionist lawyers which could isolate us from ⁽⁹²⁾defendants we are trying to win over.

This material should have long ago become exposure of the MC and state—released to the public, the press, etc. No doubt there is a lot more such material we are finding out about which is kept quiet in order not to injure our relationship with revisionist groups. We seem to be worried about being thrown out of the inner circle due to anti-communism. There is the serious question of maintaining our ties with the defendants—but if they would not like us for being as bold as them, and going on the offensive, I would be surprised.

My feeling since the beginning has been that an incredible amount of time and energy has gone into dealings with lawyers, revisionist lawyers, revisionist groups, etc. Byron is often working with Hari on matters that boil down to; what will the revisionists think or say about us if we do X,Y,Z; what should we do to have the best working relationship with them.

A couple of years ago we had a line that we would not be in UF ^{with} CP, etc., so what is different about this situation?

By the way, I was in the original discussion to make this a coalition much broader than CAR—Barbara was a minority of one at that meeting. After much door-to-door work, I would say that the only people CAR excludes is organized revisionist groups and anti-communists.

- 4) There is a lot of talk from SF that big-name groups and individuals are just about ready to put on concerts for us, etc. etc. I have never been critical of this—but skeptical as hell.

5) After changes in assignments of forces, we had no organized CD sales or mass distribution of PL literature in SD. Hari felt that this was okay if quality work was being done on a one-to-one basis. To me CD work represents a larger problem. Hari also felt that CD isn't consistently good so it would be better with some people to use pamphlets. ~~Our~~ Having less PL activity generally is our own fault here, but this has been made into a line: The only focus of SD PL for the duration is the camp pendleton 14. I went along with this approach for a while but it finally occurred to me that this undermines the nature of the party—to be the overall vanguard of the working class. It is this line which led to the party leaders' only work being to build the united front.

-John Miller

Dear Milt:

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(S)

Barbara suggested when she called me the other day that I write you to give you some of the information concerning our experiences with the Camp Pendleton 14 Defense Committee Line, CAR, etc., especially since I had some misgivings about the Defense Committee line.

One important point in my opinion is that the original contact that I made with the defendants was ^{as} a representative of CAR. I spoke to three defendants the day after the first demonstration (where David Duke was hit over the head) and gave them my name and the name of CAR (as ~~asked~~ ^{asked to do} so by Barbara H). Two of these three are the defendants represented by Weitzman. Although I was later attacked by Weitzman for using CAR's name and criticized by Hari, the defendants were not scared off. When I saw them at the Feb. 20th meeting in Oceanside, McGilvery in fact said he still had the original paper with the names on it that I had given him. In speaking to Coffee, McGilvery and others in the early days of the hearing, they were very sharp in presenting to me a position close to our line on the rise of fascism and the fact that the military was preparing to fight next in South Africa, etc.

I was able to get into the brig with Weitzman the first time he did so (when Jesse Jackson arrived) and spoke with the defendants there. Interestingly, later when the lawyers met with the defendants in the brig it was the revisionists, not the military, who ^{refused to} let me go in. (The revisionists recognized me and took Weitzman aside to say I should not be allowed in). I raised with Hari after this incident that we had to have a plan for dealing with the revisionists, including some struggle with Weitzman on the role of revisionism. I don't know whatever came of this, but much of the work done since has involved a lot of oft stepping to not offend these lawyers!

The stress on working with groups has meant in San Diego that very little mass work could be done. One party member from here was sent to Oceanside. Two others were working with "groups". In addition, one of our members was assigned by Hari to be a spy in the revisionist organization. This person is a hospital worker with a base among black workers. He is also president of a small SEIU local in his hospital. Because of this assignment, his work with these people around the campaign has come to a halt. Even his roommate (who is in the party) as forced ^{to move} out so has not to break his cover. Since I was not able to spend any time with this work for the last 6 weeks due to taking my qualifying exams at school, only 4 people were able to do mass work (they have been getting a tremendous response) and most Challenge selling has stopped, etc., due to problems of manpower and emphasis in the regional leadership meetings.

The falling off of open party work is serious, especially when it is considered that the original work we did here and in Oceanside (before Charmaine, etc., were sent down) was as open party and CAR and did produce a number of contacts with the Marines and others.

There is one other problem that has been intensified by the campaign—it is one concerning coordination and leadership responsibilities, not line. Some of these problems resulted in personal attacks on various party members from San Diego by the comrades who had come from San Francisco, and vice-versa.

The main problem came early in the attempt to set up the work in Oceanside when I was attacked as racist and factionalist for holding a meeting of the city committee here and for having earlier called Barbara to straighten up some unclarities about decisions made at a state committee meeting I was unable to attend. I spoke to Hari on the phone about this and told him that I did not agree with these criticism (made by Charmaine and Jimmy in a meeting they organized of other party members from S.D., L.A and S.F) but nothing more was done about it. I did not see this as a problem of personalities but of unclear leadership responsibilities, etc.

More important than this is the fact that the larger problems that we have raised with Barbari and Hari about making a better long-term plan for the party work in San Dáago, including what our focus should be and problems in providing adequate leadership due to the limitations on my time have not been dealt with since they came last on all agendas. The only discussions that have occurred have been on the level of what groups are being brought into the Defense Committee, etc, even though we have raised the need to discuss the party. I hope we will be able to discuss these issues with Barbara, or whoever we are responsible to, soon so as to better implement the work of building the party in San Diego and hopefully to come out of this campaign with some minority workers in the party, and with a plan for the future.

In struggle,

Cathy Miller

March 15, 1977

(95)

Comrades:

This letter is a summary of a political discussion between myself and Comrade Hari . which took place yesterday (3-14-77). I'm the area leader in Sacramento and had previously set up a meeting with Hari to discuss the work--the 1st meeting since Oct. '6.

Hari said we should discuss the line of U.F. work and the struggle within the Party around it. The 1st news I had on differences within the NC on this point was the Jan. report, received from N.Y. 1½ weeks ago. Hari said that there was a sharp struggle during the first L.A. meeting (in Dec. I believe) on the Camp P. defense situation.

and on how to do the U.F. work. He felt that the Party has a history of trying to narrow down the forces we could reach by relying on CAR & the Party openly- by not creating broader formations within which to develop revolutionary politics. The L.A. people argued for a stronger role for CAR but he said his line, backed by Jim D., won out.

I told him the only info I had seen on the discussion was the NC report and that I felt it was correct. As I see it, the working class needs an on going anti-racist organization in order to defeat fascism. That if the party initiates a grouping, especially an anti-racist one it should be done through CAR.

Hari replied that we'd be baited and , for example, the C.P.14 defendants would not've come around us if we had been a CAR sponsored defense committee. I disagreed, CAR feel makes sense & most working people could be won to join, as in fact did most of the defendants .

Hari was vaguely self-critical about his not calling a meeting to discuss the Jan C report 2 months ago. But he didn't discuss why he had not done so.. which I feel is based on (1), his not agreeing with the line of the Jan. meeting and (2) he was afraid that his line would loose out (or at least be further exposed) in an open discussion of the Jan. NC meeting. He further stated that though it was a breach of democratic centralism, the NC has in fact breached DC by publishing an attack on the CP.14 in the 3-17-77 CD editorial, without discussing the changes

made on what he had written. (Hari said he had been asked by Milt, in a curt manner to write up a piece on the danger of the revisionists with in the Defense Committee.

Hari was sharply critical with the content of the above mentioned 3-17-77 editorial, "Never Take Aid From the Class Enemy." He said it was racist because (1) it termed the slogan "End Racism" as a "vague generality" and (2) for calling the slogan "Free the 14" civil libertarian--he felt that civil libertarian meant to defend ALL sides on a class question (like the ACLU is doing in San Diego defending the Klan).

He didn't support the editorial, which ^{he said} was sabotaging the Defense campaign and in fact, siding with the military brass with regards to the importance of "freedom" for the defendants, that it wasn't important. Some of the defendants (or just Marines working with us ??) were up for a party last Saturday (3-12-77) and Hari went over the editorial with them. They agreeded that it was racist and that it seemed to make light of their fight to stay out of jail. Hari felt they wouldn't remain in/around the Party if the "racist" editorial represented the Party's line.

I was shown the letter Barbara H. sent to the NC regarding May Day and the incident at the Oceanside Defense Committee office. He implied that they had come to snoop around. That Barbara & Victor did not let himself nor Charmaine know they were coming, "How would I like it if he came to Sacramento on the sly and checked up on the work?"

While we were meeting (about 4 hours) Hari was receiving calls from Party members discussing the "open letter or individual letter" being solicited in behalf of Hari's line to be sent to the NC. He said he would send me one, when it was ready, and I could sign it if I agreed with the contents.

As I was leaving, I argued with Hari about the D & D "TDI" thesis. To me it doesn't matter if the U.S. remains #1 for awhile; the standard of living for workers will continue to go down and racism is being escalated. That the fight against fascism is a primary question because there's no way the bosses can survive without

it-knowing that the working class will not take the cutbacks, layoffs, increased racism lying down.

I want to say that I agree with the NC report that Hari's work should be to give "leadership on overall party work, centering around the building of fractions in the unions." I've struggled with Hari about meeting twice a month to help us with the Sacto Work and to include me in the S.F. city meeting so I could meet with a leadership body. Susan, my wife, quit the party a month ago over the lack of leadership being given the work in Sacramento. She says she doesn't want to stay in a party that sent us to a difficult area to work and then "left us out on a limb" with no leadership." She also feels it was wrong not to include someone from Sac. in West Coast leadership meetings.

I hope the differences to be discussed can be worked out by all agreeing with the points made in the various articles attacking this dangerous right-wing trend within our Party. Internal weaknesses are primary, I have full confidence that the NC will succeed in rallying party forces & friends to defeat this right-wing trend.

In struggle,

Bill Delucchi

Bill Delucchi

the March 8th internal bulletin..

Comrades,

9/18/77

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Our party is in a critical period, we have the ability to make great strides ahead toward our goal of revolution. This makes how we deal with our weaknesses even more crucial. In the last NPW mid-west Cadre School the group I was in got into a discussion on Sexism, that was not a written part of the agenda, however, we were discussing basebuilding and the obstacles to it. The response of some comrades when the issue was raised was that "racism was more important" and "we should organize a discussion at another time". This type of response is one that many party members and party leaders feel comfortable with. This must change. Sexism is a systematic ideology designed to as racism does to divide the working class. We cannot ignore the issue or merely tack on anti-Sexist slogans to our leaflets. Another comrade in the CADre School mentioned an incident where a Sexist remark was made by one of his co-workers. The comrade told his co-worker that he was being disrespectful to woman. It was good that this comrade did respond to Sexism, nowever his response was very weak. It should not be our position that sexism is merely disrespectful to women but it is politically an enemy of our class. We must seriously and decisively make a plan to further develop and advance our line on the question, and to make attacks on the manifestations of Sexism in this society. If we don't who will ?? This internal was written in an effort to help that process.

The most recent party internal included an article on "Male Chauvinism" written by a comrade from San Francisco. Although the spirit in which the article was written was good, it reflected some weaknesses on the issue of sexism. First of all, Sexism and not Male Chauvinism is the term we should use to describe the systematic oppression of women. "Male Chauvinism" implies that the super-exploitation of women under capitalism is a 'fault of men' and not the system. The term "Male Supremacy" also has this implication. Sexism doesn't make life under capitalism qualitatively better for working class men, it merely serves the interest of the ruling class to divide us. Male Supremacy implies that Sexism is an ideology to guarantee that men rule, that is not its purpose or function. It is to guarantee that the ruling class rule and that the workers are divided. This is our line on racism and sexism is not different in that respect. It is important that we are clear and consistent on the terms we use. We say 'racism' not 'prejudice' because

it is a sharper term politically and more accurately describes the role of a certain set of ideas and practices.

(99)

If we fail to develop and put forward a marxist analysis of sexism very diligently we risk loosing many working class women, especially minority women who are hit hardest by racism and sexism. If it is our analysis that the most oppressed sections of the working class will fight back the hardest against the system then we should no longer neglect this issue. Most of the feminist organizations are reactionary groups led by middle-class and upper middle-class women. These groups often identify "men" as the oppressor and pose solutions such as getting women in high offices, or forming separate womens committees and clubs to deal with the question of sexism. This outlook is similar to the nationalist outlook that "black people have to get their thing together" before they can allie with white workers, which is exactly what the ruling class wants. In fact, many "womens rights" groups have gotten financial support and endorsement from male dominated corporations and from govt. to develop programs promoting ^{outlook.}seperatist. Obviously, these ideas and organizations not only serve to build and maintain sexism but to build and maintain capitalism. Our party must immediately give leadership around the question of sexism and how it hurts all workers.

Sexism is not just a bad approach that men have, but it is an ideology promoted by and serving the interests of the ruling class.

Some of the things Sexist ideas serve to do are as follows:

- 1) Give the bosses a reserve labor force. During war time more women are drawn into industry to replace male workers who enter the military. We see more women being drawn into industry today as preperation for what we project to be the World War III (we see direct relationship to the main contradiction).
- 2) Sexism divides workers. If a male worker accepts their women co-workers as inferior then they are less prepared to unite with them and accept leadership from them. Also, the bosses use Sexism to divide workers by promoting the ideas that women don't "carry their weight" therefore their labor is worth less. The bosses themselves are of course the most racist and sexist, often times women workers in industry are subjected to foreman

making sexual propositions promising favors of an easier job.

100

3) Another form of oppression resulting from systematic promotion of Sexism results in economic profits for the bosses. By pushing the "a man has got to be a man" idea or in other words, a man is not a man if his wife works. This ideology saves the ruling class a mint. It is as if they told two adult roommates that if they both worked only one would be paid a salary because the work that one did was not a 'real' job. Off hand, we would say this is ridiculous but actually this is the situation of many working class families. Also, the labor produced by women on the job market is valued at less because women are suppose to be mentally and physically inferior.

In relation to the main contradiction in the world we see women being accepted into industry more readily than in the past. This is as mentioned before a characteristic of pre war periods in history. In concluding the discussion of this particular subject we all must accept the responsibility of developing the partys line on Sexism and fighting against sexism in word and deed. This means not fighting against sexist remarks because they are disrespectful or 'not nice' but because these statements are attacks against the working class, and against the revolutionary movement we have dedicated our lives to building. As a point of record no more Sexist remarks will be accepted as 'slips of the tongue'. Party members should be conscious of the implications and connotations of words such as Motherfucker, Bitch, Bastard, Chick, Broad, etc. I know these words are not common in the vocabulary of most party members espeicially the last two but we should consider them anti-working class terms and struggle with our comrades and our base around the use of them and other Sexist terms.

Because I've heard these terms used by comrades I assume there will be some disagreement as to the Sexist nature of the aforementioned terms. Therefore I think its important to list briefly why these words are politically incorrect.

1- The term Bitch is defined as meaning a 'female dog'. The word Bitch is usually used to describe women or 'feminine' behavior, i.e. 'bitching' is usually used to describe a womans nagging, raving or being hysterical (NOTE: hysterical is a word which derives from a word meaning having to do with woman and has negative meaning).

(108)

2- Bastard known to mean a child that is illegitimate or without his/her parents being legally married. This term has sexist and racist connotations. The word is an insulting term because it is first of all the greatest sin for a woman to become pregnant out of marriage, and secondly, for a child to grow up with only a mother makes him/her somehow diseased. The racist stereotypes about black families being 'unstable' etc. is what contributes to the racist nature of this term.

Some specific proposals around how we can move to advance our line and our internal struggle around the questions of sexism:

- We should no longer use the aforementioned terms and to be more conscience of the connotations and implications of the words we use.
 - We should be more conscience of developing leadership among women comrades.
 - We should (club leaders esp.) feel responsible to struggling with other party members and each other about our personal relationships and how sexism may be reflected.
 - We should circulate this internal for discussion in all party clubs immediately.
- We have put off discussion of this issue too long, if the next internal is more than a month or so off we should print a special internal for distribution.
- The NC should make a plan for research and publishing some party material on the question of Sexism, a class analysis, relying on other party members to develop this. i.e. having local cadre make an analysis of sexism as an ideology and how it affects our political work in these various areas.
 - We should also have a plan to look at the history of the womens movement and the history of sexism and how it has been used to divide us and how members of our class have struggled against it.

In Struggle,

A Black woman comrade from
Detroit.

Note: this piece was written for the internal bulletin in late 1976. I apologize for carelessly neglecting to send it in as soon as I should. I would recommend these ideas for careful consideration by all party members, especially the preparation of non-written propaganda material.

rdg, Wash. DC

Dear Steering Committee:

The new emphasis on politics in Challenge-Desafio, and on revolution and socialism in our on the job struggles, is getting us closer to Lenin's idea of a Bolshevik party. This is good, but as Stalin said, once you have established the political line, organization is everything. Thus, I would like to suggest how we can put our line into practice better.

1) It is not enough just to attack capitalism in our articles, leaflets, speeches, and forums. Liberals do that. We must explain the difference between capitalism and socialism as it pertains to each issue: health care, sports, racism, safety, wages, rent, war, etc. Good, concrete examples about life as it was for workers when we held state power in the Soviet Union and in China, would be helpful. How was health care organized under the dictatorship of the working class? How were shipyards and steel mills made more safe? (I once heard that the accident and death rate in Poland's coal mines were far below that in the U.S.) How were sports organized? (a recent CPL Worker article on this was good). Explain how these things could only exist happen in socialism, not capitalism. Emphasize the principles behind them. Put these articles in Challenge-Desafio and PL. Let's talk Socialism, Socialism, and more Socialism. What better way to defeat anti-communism?

2) It is not enough just to talk about socialism. Some revisionists do that. We communists must explain how we can get to socialism: armed revolution, violent mass uprising, or peoples war. Many people think this is impossible, and most want to know how it is possible. We need articles and lectures which vividly depict how the Bolsheviks organized their uprising, how they agitated amongst the soldiers during wartime. Explain and describe peoples war as it was used in Vietnam, China, Albania and WW II Soviet Union. How did the workers get arms? We need to talk revolution, revolution and more revolution, not just abstractly, but in the concrete.

3) The articles in Challenge-Desafio are still not sharp enough. As a black comrade who is ready to join the party said: "If the revolution is going to be bloody, the paper should be bloody too, if we want to win people to what we really stand for." C-D must start carrying articles like these: "Why We Must Overthrow The Government", "Why We Must Destroy The Police", "Why We Must Imprison Or Kill The Bosses", "Why We Must Turn The Imperialist War Into A Civil War For Socialism". There should be an article like this in C-D every week.

4) The recent emphasis on giving us more hard information in Challenge-Desafio is welcome. The articles on South Africa, the police, the falling rate of profits, have combined facts with analysis. Just what we need for political discussions with our co-workers.

However, C-D is usually very weak on hard information regarding international events. Since we think that the U.S. is heading toward war, sparked by international events, and since the ruling class is busily pushing its lies to justify this war to the workers, we communists must give high priority to spreading the truth about what's really going on.

What exactly is going on in Lebanon? C-D needs to go further than a few sarcastic remarks about "progressive bourgeoisies". Who is Jumblatt and who is behind him? Who finances the PLO and who is the PLO's leadership? What is life like for workers in Israel, Egypt, Syria, Iraq? What is going on in Zaire, Uganda, Tanzania? Why does Kenya and Zaire support the U.S. while Tanzania and Uganda and Mozambique support the U.S.S.R.? I feel that I knew almost nothing about these and other crucial world events which we ought to be explaining to the working class.

In order to get all of these things done, I think the party leadership should assign people to research these things, and write up articles and lecture formats for the whole party to use. There should be no liberalism about waiting for volunteers. I volunteer to research the way revolutionaries in other countries have organized armed struggle.

5) It is not enough for us simply to change our written propaganda: Challenge-Desafio, PL Magazine, leaflets and shop papers. We rely too heavily on this form of communication. As the capitalist school system falls apart, more and more workers have difficulty reading. Those who just barely read find it painful and tedious, and difficult to retain what they've read. As the party and its base becomes primarily working class, its reading ability is declining. Right now, we rely mainly on PL literature to spread the party's line, and to teach it to new party members. The ~~xxx~~ result is that our line will not be learned well, nor spread well.

Speakers, cadre schools, and movies and slides are a much better way to bring our ideas to workers, and to teach them and us about our party's line. All studies show that people retain knowledge from movies the best, from speakers second best, and from reading, the least. As the party has changed from a college student organization to a working class organization, we need to change the form of our propaganda work accordingly. Also, speakers and films can be much more arousing than readings.

The Party leadership should guarantee that everycity hold a forum, a film, or a political event (dinner, cadre school, demo) every other week for party members and our base. Attendance should be obligatory in general. Churches hold services every

week, and their members who are committed go. We communists in the Progressive Labor Party ought to take our movement at least that seriously. We should not fear the accusation from middle class intellectuals of being fanatics. s We need more commitment and discipline.

Organizationally, perhaps we could do as the Bolsheviks did and train people to become effective speakers on different topics, who could travel from city to city giving Party Lectures. We must shift our emphasis to speakers, lectures and films, to be supplemented by written material, instead of our present methods, which rely on written EL material, supplemented by forums, etc.

6) As we change our propaganda work from written to verbally oriented, we will need written material that supplements the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ oral presentation. Recent party booklets "The Basic Ideas of Marxism-Leninism" and "The Marxist-Leninist Cartoon Book" are good steps in this direction. They present the party's line briefly and clearly, with illustrations. They ask questions and encourage discussion. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In addition, we need short 10-15 minute films and slide presentations. This is what we need to teach the Party's line on basic questions in a mass way.

Please put these suggestions in an internal bulletin if you think they merit discussion.

G.Y.
D.C. PLP